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ABSTRACT

Over the years, Japan has revamped her education system a number of times. With the coming of the U. S. Education Mission in 1946, she turned her schools toward democratization. The major aims of this reform program in education were: 1) the elimination of militarism and ultranationalism; 2) democratization; 3) modernization; and, 4) decentralization of education control. Specific reforms included: 1) the provision of greater equality of educational opportunity through the conversion of the multiple-track into a single-track system; 2) an additional three years of compulsory education; 3) coeducation at all levels; and, 4) general education at the secondary and higher levels. To train intelligent participation in a democracy, a new content was introduced --notably social studies at the elementary and secondary levels. During the present period, some of these goals and reforms have been modified, however, the essential goals remain: suiting education to life, helping the individual to develop his ability, and the goal of freedom of speech and action. (SBE)

JAPAN

OE-14076

Three Epochs of Modern Education

U. S. DEPARTMENT
OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION,
AND WELFARE
Office of Education

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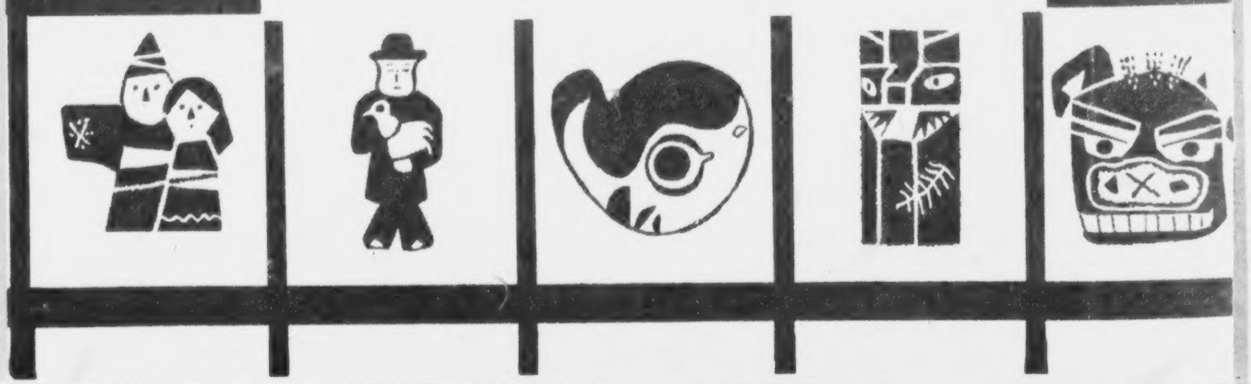
Highlights

- Chapter I—Educational Philosophy and Policy—indicates 3 epochs of Japanese education, and presents an overview from time of the 1872 Education Code to present.
- Chapter II—Educational Opportunity—offers some comparisons of such opportunities during each of the three epochs.
- Chapter III—Administration and Supervision—highlights issues of centralization and decentralization.
- Chapter IV—Curriculums, Teaching Methods, and Textbooks—describes changes in these three fields, together with related facts.
- Chapter V—Higher Education, and Chapter VI—Teacher Education—indicate various swings of the pendulum to and from responsibility to the State and responsibility to the individual.
- Chapter VII—Vocational Education, and Chapter VIII—Special Programs—offer discussions concerning developments in these newer specialized fields.
- Chapter IX—Social Education—views the Japanese equivalent of adult education and reveals Japanese genius for organizing its citizens in out-of-school activities.
- Chapter X—In Brief Review—focuses upon the rise of Japan's modern education.



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JAPAN

Three Epochs of Modern Education

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Far East Countries

Bulletin 1959, No. 11

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Arthur S. Flemming, *Secretary*

Office of Education
Lawrence G. Derthick, *Commissioner*

Cover picture

Little Miss Ariki, a first-grader, is contemplating her first characters of the New Year. They spell temari or handball. Kakizome, or the initial brush writing of the year, is a New Year's tradition in Japan. School children assemble in the auditorium to compete in artistic calligraphy. A sample of the writing is dedicated to Sugawara Michizane, a revered ninth century scholar.

The cover picture is from the grand prize winner in the 1957 Photo Contest sponsored by the Mainichi Newspapers. The photographer is Hiroshi Hasegawa. The picture was made available for reproduction by the Office of Education through the courtesy of photographer Hasegawa in Hirosaki, The Mainichi Newspapers in Tokyo, and the Embassy of Japan in Washington.

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Photo by Francis Haar

First graders with customary name tags—Kyoto.

Foreword

THIS STUDY, one of the Office of Education series on education in other countries, is the third to be published as a result of on-the-spot reporting on Japanese education in its own setting. The first of these studies was the official report to the Japanese Government made by David Murray, a Rutgers University professor who went to Japan in 1873 as National Superintendent of Schools and Colleges and as advisor to the Department of Education in establishing the first modern educational system in that country. That report, published in 1875, provides a firsthand account of the beginnings of modern education in Japan.

In 1900 Robert Ellsworth Lewis, a citizen of the United States of America residing in Shanghai, went to Japan to survey the educational scene. His report was published that same year.

The author of this current *Bulletin* was in Japan for varying periods. From 1929 to 1935 during the prewar years, he was a teacher in the Japanese Government higher schools; from 1946 to 1949 he was civil education officer on a Regional Military Government team working with educators in southern Japan. For purposes of studying the current Japanese educational system in relation to that of earlier periods, the Office of Education sent him to Japan in the spring of 1957 to visit schools, confer with Government officials, educational leaders, teachers, and others directly concerned with education. From them all came invaluable assistance on this project.

It is believed that this bulletin will provide useful information to educational and other groups and to individuals interested in Japanese education and its unique historical background.

Lawrence G. Derthick

United States Commissioner of Education.

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BESS GOODYKOONTZ
Director, International
Educational Relations

Glossary

CIE	Civil Information and Education Section, SCAP
FFJ	Future Farmers of Japan
FHJ	Future Homemakers of Japan
GARIOA	Government and Relief in Occupied Areas
ICU	International Christian University
IFEL	Institute for Educational Leadership
JEC	Japanese Education Committee
JERC	Japanese Education Reform Council
JTU	Japan Teachers' Union
LSS	Lower Secondary School(s)
PTA	Parent-Teacher Association
SCAP	Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers
SPS	Student Personnel Services
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USS	Upper Secondary School(s)
WA	Women's Association
YMA	Young Men's Association
YWA	Young Women's Association

CHAPTER I

Educational Philosophy and Policy

Introduction: Three Epochs

ALL JAPAN, figuratively speaking, is a school. Alert and eager to learn, the Japanese place education high in their value system and are willing to make sacrifices to obtain it. From their Confucian heritage they gained deep respect for learning and for the scholar and the teacher.

Teaching is an esteemed profession. Sensei (teacher) is a term of respect applied not only to teachers but to doctors, lawyers, and any honored elder. A textbook used in the temple schools of the feudal period—*Doji-Kyo* or Moral Teachings for Children—declared: "Pupils should follow their teacher at a distance of 7 feet, so that they shall not even tread upon his shadow."[1]

An aspiration of the Japanese for themselves and their children is to get education. Even among children, school is considered a privilege to be anticipated with joy. The Japanese youth will say, as one said to this writer: "To go to school was my greatest pleassure, and study was my play."

After the Emperor was restored to the throne in 1868 (Meiji Restoration), Japan determined to modernize. Within a short generation (1868–95), the Nation lifted itself out of feudalism into the status of a world power. This swift, far-reaching modernization is explained in no small part by Japan's educational system.

The group of 55 young men who led the Meiji Restoration and inaugurated the modern period saw the school system as an instrument of national policy. The schools could teach loyalty to the Emperor, patriotism, and national unity, they maintained. And the schools could provide technicians for the reform program by which the leaders intended to modernize the country. In bending their efforts to the building of a strong Nation, the leaders planned a utilitarian education for their people. Almost literally, the Nation went to school. And the Japanese continue to go to school and to be among the world's apt students.

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[1] Translated from: Hanawa Hokiichi, *Zoku Gunsho Ruiju* (Tokyo, Zoku Gunsho Ruiju Kanseikai), 32 B, 6–9, Showa 2. [Hokiichi Hanawa, *compiler*. A Classified Collection of Myriad Works, Continued. Tokyo, the Committee of the Classified Collection, 1927. Vol. 32 B, p. 6–9.]

In the educational and intellectual history of modern Japan since the Restoration, three relatively definite movements may be indicated as follows: (1) The introduction and development of modern education, hereafter referred to in the text as the *Initial Modernization Epoch* (1872–1937); (2) the conversion of education to the needs of a nation at war, or the *Wartime Epoch* (1937–45); and (3) the building of a new democratized system, or the *Democratization Epoch* (1945 to the present). In dealing with such historical movements, the writer has found it necessary to keep the epoch dates somewhat flexible, and there will be some overlapping and some gaps here and there, from epoch to epoch. Accounts of the Wartime Epoch appear for the most part in chapters I and II.[2]

During the early part (1872 to 1886) of the first epoch Japan built considerably upon the pattern of Western thought and institutions to create her first modern educational system. Then from 1886 onward she revised this system to conform more nearly to what she considered native values and dedicated it to serving the interests of the State. The modernization during the initial epoch was largely made possible by development of a national school system and the consequent almost universal education and literacy.

With the coming of the second movement indicated, or the Wartime Epoch, there was an isolation of school and society from earlier influences and a conversion of the schools to a wartime program. The third, or Democratization Epoch, has two indicated phases: Japan's building a new democratized educational system—first, under the Allied Occupation (1945 to 1952); second, under Japan's responsibility and with some modifications since the peace treaty went into effect (1952 to the present).

This bulletin presents an abridged view of the education pattern and its developments during the three indicated epochs. Only historical volume upon volume can offer the full view of education in Japan.

Initial Modernization Epoch

When Japan entered the modern world, she had been imbued for centuries with the traditional philosophy of Confucianism—especially the Chu-hsi School from Sung China, which taught respect for the past and the established system and obedience to authority and loyalty to superiors. The school curriculum featured the Confucian classics; many of the teachers were Japanese Confucian scholars. Confucianism in Japan, as in China, was less an abstract philosophy than an ethical system, for it had to do with the practical affairs of life such as government, social relations, and education. Under this philosophy, society was hierarchical with fixed bonds of duty and affection between lower and higher members, such as subject and Emperor, pupils and teachers. The purpose of education was not limited to imparting useful knowledge. Training the character of the student in moral virtue through study and emulation of the great souls of the past was emphasized.

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[2] These epochs, or periods, are adapted by the author from the historical outline found in Ministry of Education. *Education in Japan, Graphic Presentation: 1957* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1957), p. 17.

Conservative Confucian doctrine as developed in Japan, with its acceptance of the authority of tradition and its demand for loyalty above everything else including filial piety,[3] became an integral part of Japanese culture and was interpreted to meet the demands of each period. Loyalty, which in feudal times had been to the immediate lord, was transferred through the instrumentality of the schools to the person of the Emperor.

With the opening of Japan to Western thought, the literature of Confucianism was temporarily put aside to enable the people to master a great body of practical information in a brief time. Education, which had been a byproduct of moral training, became one of the major purposes of life. It was no longer a private road to accomplishment for a few, but an essential preparation for youth to take their part in building a modern State. There was little time for esthetics. There was pressure to acquire knowledge so that Japan could grow strong and face other powers on equal terms.

National unity was created out of the localism of loyalty to feudal lords through teaching loyalty of the people to the Emperor. With his position as the focal point of the reform movement, there was issued in the Emperor's name, a policy statement setting forth the principles on which the Imperial rule would be based. While the battles of the Restoration were raging in 1868, the young Emperor made an oath before "The Celestial Gods and Terrestrial Deities" which constituted a Japanese Declaration of the Rights of Man.

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[3] "Morals" (Shushin) textbooks taught that filial piety was subordinate to loyalty to the Emperor, and included in it. One of the interpreters of the Imperial Rescript on Education states: "In Confucianism [in China] . . . filial piety is more generally emphasized than loyalty. In Japan, on the contrary, loyalty is a far greater virtue than filial piety." Tetsujiro Inoue, *The Imperial Rescript on Education and Confucianism*, as quoted in Kiyoko Takeda Cho, *Christian Criticism of Traditional Japanese Ethics in the Meiji Period* [Mitaka, Japan, International Christian University, 1956], p. 32. (Mimeo.)

The fifth article of this Charter Oath of Five Articles fixed the purposes of national education:

> Wisdom and knowledge shall be sought all over the world in order to establish firmly the foundations of the Empire. [Kokutai].[4]

After the military campaigns had brought a measure of peace and stability, the leaders turned their attention in 1870 to the task of carrying out the Charter Oath in the field of education. An order went out to local officials to send their brightest young men to Tokyo for dispatch abroad as students. The old temple schools of feudal days were closed in preparation for a completely new and modern school system. On July 18, 1871, a Department of Education was set up and vested with authority over educational and cultural matters. This step was to fix the pattern for the next 74 years for a central control agency at the top to plan the educational structure and administer the school system.

The new Department drew up an ambitious outline of a national system of 4-year compulsory and universal education with a view to unifying the people. The educational ordinance, called Gakusei (Educational System), was promulgated on September 8, 1872. Following a pattern of centralization similar to that of the French, it divided the country into 8 collegiate divisions in each of which was to be a university. Each division was subdivided into 32 middle or high school districts and, at the local level, each middle school district was to have 210 elementary school districts, for a grand total of 8 universities, 256 middle schools and 53,760 elementary schools throughout the country.[5] The magnitude of this plan is evident when one realizes that up to this time schools were in temples, and teachers were priests and a few ronin (unattached samurai) whose method of teaching was individual tutoring of a few select students. It was, therefore, impracticable to put this plan into immediate effect. The code was merely the outline of a system to be carried out as circumstances permitted.

As stated in the outline transmitted by the Minister of Education to the Commissioner of Education in the U. S. A., the aim was to make a practical education available to all. In a rigorous departure from the old ways, the Japanese Government emphasized the importance of developing the mind of each individual:

> There have been schools in Japan for many years, but from their imperfection or misdirection, they benefited the upper classes only. Farmers, mechanics, traders, and women were left in ignorance. Even among the

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[4] Chitoshi Yanaga, *Japan Since Perry* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1949), p. 48. Over the years *Kokutai* came to mean a mystical faith in the Emperor-State and in the sum total of national characteristics.

[5] Baron Dairoku Kikuchi, *Japanese Education* (London, John Murray, 1909), p. 72.

> upper classes, education was very imperfect, and more devoted to art, literature, and useless discussions than to anything practical. The new school-law aims at leaving none in ignorance in any class, male or female.[6]

Japan seemed in a strategic position for attempting a modernization program. She began to survey what the world's cultures had to offer and to choose what suited her best. She brought in French experts to help write a criminal code and to teach strategy to the army; English experts to help build railways, lighthouses, and telegraph lines, and to organize and train a navy; German experts to help set up local governments and establish medical schools; and she obtained United States' assistance in developing a postal service, scientific agriculture and school system.

The Japanese had looked at the school system in the U. S. and felt it best suited to their needs, for they believed the U. S. had come nearer to solving the problem of universal education than any other country at the time by its development of "the common school." In 1872 the Japanese Government sent to the West a mission under the leadership of Prince Tomomi Iwakura, primarily to get treaty revision and secondarily to learn about the educational systems of the West. The letter of credentials that Prince Iwakura carried from the Emperor to President Ulysses S. Grant said, after mentioning treaty revision:

> It is our purpose to select from the various institutions prevailing among enlightened nations such as are best suited to our present condition, and adopt them, in gradual reforms and improvements of our policy and customs, so as to be upon an equality with them.[7]

Representing education on the mission was the First Senior Secretary of the new Department of Education, Fujimaro Tanaka, and five of his assistants. They were greeted in Washington by John Eaton, Jr., then U. S. Commissioner of Education, who took a personal as well as an official interest in aiding them. He set up a program of school visits and collected an assortment of educational documents, including university catalogs, reports from the States and from Canada, school laws and statistics, and pamphlets on such subjects as special education of the deaf and mute. Commissioner Eaton also assembled a small library of professional textbooks, including the works of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard and specialized subject-matter books such as object lessons [Pestalozzian method], the normal school, graded schools, and the like,[8] which the Mission took to Japan. There they were translated and used in setting up the new national school system.

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[6] [Department of the Interior. Bureau of Education.] *Report of the Commissioner for the Year 1872* (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1873), p. 538–39.

[7] Kengi Hamada, *Prince Ito* (Tokyo, Sanseido Co., 1936), p. 65–66.

[8] Letterpress Copybook. Letter of John Eaton, Jr., to F. M. Tanaka, dated May 7, 1872. Papers of Commissioner John Eaton. Washington, U. S. Archives. Vol. V.

While the Iwakura Mission was en route to Washington, Japanese Charge d'Affaires, Arinori Mori, who had been impressed by the public education system in the United States, anticipated that education would be a major interest of the mission. He addressed an identical letter to a number of persons in the U. S. requesting their advice for Japan. He received 12 detailed answers from college presidents, professors, State superintendents of schools, a clergyman, and a member of Congress. These appeared in an 1873 book which became a general guide to policy in forming the new school system.

One of the replies, from a professor at Rutgers College, David Murray, stressed the importance of adapting the educational system to the national culture:

> There are traditional customs which it would be unwise to undertake to subvert. There are institutions already founded which are revered for their local and national associations, which without material change may be made the best elements of a new system. Every successful school system must be a natural outgrowth from the wants of a nation.[9]

These words from a cultural relativist surprised the Japanese mission which wanted quick results. It employed Dr. Murray as the first National Superintendent of Schools and Colleges and Adviser to the Department of Education, at the then munificent salary of 600 yen per month (about $300) plus travel expenses to and from Japan, and an unfurnished Western-style house.

Murray began his work of assisting the Japanese in 1873, just about the time Tanaka, the Japanese official charged with administering the new system, returned from his trip. For 5½ years, the two formed a team in the building of an educational system.

Murray's work included planning courses of study, inspecting schools, and providing advisory assistance in construction and equipment of school buildings. Consistent with his earlier reply to Arinori Mori's inquiry, he opposed a plan by Mori to replace Japanese with the English language and urged, in order to "naturalize education," that textbooks be written in Japanese to replace the ones from the U. S. then in use,[10] and that Japanese teachers be trained to replace the foreigners. He advocated new facilities for the training of teachers, helped introduce the 1-month teachers' institute for training the Confucianist-oriented teachers in new methods, and advocated the education of women.

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[9] *Education in Japan: A Series of Letters Addressed by Prominent Americans to Arinori Mori* (New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1873), p. 101.

[10] One of the few indigenous texts was the *Outline of Japanese History* published in 1872 by the Ministry, primarily containing the names of the Emperors of Japan.

A normal school was established in Tokyo in 1872 to provide teachers for the new national system. Another U. S. citizen, Marion M. Scott, formerly an elementary school principal from San Francisco, was brought in to instruct the Japanese in teaching methods for elementary schools. He taught English, demonstrated teaching technique, and supervised the practice teaching of a group of mature normal school students, in a laboratory school attached to the normal school. Most of the graduates went into teaching in the prefectural normal schools that were soon organized throughout the country.

In 1876, Dr. Murray accompanied Vice-Minister Tanaka and a mission of Japanese educators to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, and helped them make a comparative study of systems of education from the various national exhibits there. The Japanese acquired many of the exhibits by purchase or donation. The mission then went on to Boston, where it spent a week inspecting the public schools. At a cost of about $10,000, Tanaka purchased a set of furniture and teaching materials then in use in the Boston schools. He also commissioned the city architect to prepare comprehensive plans for a primary and a secondary school for reproduction in Japan. These plans and equipment were the basis for the construction in September 1877 of an educational exhibit in Tokyo, containing classrooms equipped in Western style, and destined for use as models for Japanese schools.

Fully as important perhaps to the modernization process as the bringing in of Western experts was the program of sending out young people to other parts of the world to seek knowledge, as urged by the Imperial Oath. Between 1868 and 1877 about 500, including 5 women, were sent abroad. More than half of them came to the U. S. and specialized in education, science, engineering, and law.

Three young men came to teacher-training institutions in the U. S. in 1875, where they studied the progressive philosophy and techniques of the Swiss educator, Pestalozzi, then gaining popularity.[11] One of the trio, Hideo Takamine, went to Oswego State Normal School, fountainhead of Pestalozzianism in the U. S. Upon their return to Japan in 1878, the three men published texts on progressive methods and assumed top positions in the new higher

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[1] According to his teaching, instruction should be in conformity with the natural development of the child, and learning is best achieved through sense experience with objects, models, and specimens, rather than rote memorization of abstractions.

normal school, where they introduced the theory and practice of Pestalozzi. Later, an American woman, expert in Pestalozzian teaching, was employed. The paradox in this development is found in the fact that the Western nations were hesitantly sampling a freer type of education than was then in vogue, while the Japanese, whose tradition was authoritarian, were boldly seeking the most progressive type then known.

In one part of Japan particularly, Hokkaido in the far north, the influence of the U. S. during this period seems quite marked. U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture, Horace Capron, headed the group to help plan agricultural development there. Even now the countryside with its extensive farming, its silos, and farm animals, resembles New England.

Here also survives the memory of the educator, William S. Clark, president of Massachusetts Agricultural College. When the Iwakura Mission visited New England, its members had observed the recently established land-grant colleges which provided a combination of vocational and military training. This plan struck the Japanese as useful to Japan in teaching the people to feed and to defend themselves. Accordingly, they invited Dr. Clark to come to Hokkaido and head the Sapporo Agricultural School, which later became Hokkaido University.

During his stay of 8 months, Dr. Clark helped to introduce scientific agricultural education and military drill, and through extracurricular activities, made Sapporo School a source of Christian leadership in Japan. As he was leaving Sapporo on horseback, he turned in his saddle and said to a small band of devoted students, "Boys, be ambitious." This simple admonition struck a responsive chord among Japanese youth and became one of the mottoes of schoolboys throughout the Nation, remembered and quoted to this day.[12]

The 19th century Japanese educator, Yukichi Fukuzawa—born a samurai and reared according to the strict feudal code of behavior—visited the U. S. and Europe just before the Restoration. On his return to Japan he devoted himself to the founding of a Western-type school (which later became Keio University) and to the spread of information about the West. In his teaching and writing he emphasized individualism, self-respect, and social interest. His book *Seiyo Jiji* (Conditions in Western Lands) was widely used. Among other writings, he brought out a series of 17 pamphlets on education arguing for a practical utilitarian education.

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[12] Hokkaido University, with an enrollment of over 5,000, has a BBA Society (Boys, Be Ambitious), a bust of Clark on the Campus, and a William S. Clark "Farewell Monument" bearing the motto.

Courtesy of Shannon McCune

Pioneer in agricultural education.

Despite the efforts of the team of Tanaka and Murray to make their plan work, it came under severe criticism by those who opposed the cost of modern schools and preferred the traditional tutoring of feudal times. It was too early; the new Government was not yet firmly established and people questioned centralized control.

Tanaka, then Vice-Minister of Education, had noted the solution to the problem of school control in the U. S.—the local school board, placing responsibility for support and control upon the community. The two men drafted a second educational ordinance promulgated in 1879, which attempted a measure of decentralized school control by providing for popularly elected educational affairs boards (gakumu iin) in each town and village. These differed from the plan in the U. S. in that they were under the Prefectural Governor, with the central Government retaining final control.[13]

The public reportedly interpreted this move as a Government plot to shift the burden of school support to their shoulders; they closed some schools and consolidated others. As a result, fewer children went to school, and the education of girls was dropped.

In the meantime, the Confucianists had been gaining power.[14] With their active support, the Educational Ordinance of 1880 was promulgated, giving the Government control again. The revision modified the power of the boards by making them appointive by the Governor instead of elective by the people. It specified exactly what the Governor should do. From then on the central Government accepted responsibility for the support of elementary education and has continued to do so.

Tanaka resigned. Murray had completed his employment in Japan, and had gone home. The departure of these leaders from Japan's educational scene marked a transition from what may sometimes be called the initial influence of education in the United States upon education in Japan.

Yet in the new schoolhouses modeled after those of Boston in the 1870's, Japanese children sat at desks instead of on the floor; they used blackboards and chalk, slates and pencils; charts, and wall maps were in evidence. Various texts were translations of the moralistic schoolbooks popular in the United States at that time. Japanese students returning from the United States filled key posts in education, including the presidencies of Tokyo and Kyushu Imperial Universities, Tokyo Higher Normal School, and the private higher institutions of Waseda and Keio.

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[13] For fuller treatment, see: Fred N. Kerlinger, Educational Affairs Boards: Precursors of Modern Japanese Boards of Education, *History of Education Journal*, 5: 91-96, Spring 1954.

[14] In 1878 they were credited with persuading the Emperor to issue an Imperial Directive on Education. It reversed the purposes of his Imperial Oath, which had urged the people to seek knowledge outside, and it told them to look within for the basis of their morality in traditional Confucian values.

That all this did not entirely fit the Japanese cultural requirements is evidenced by the next phase of Meiji educational history. By 1878, reaction was setting in. Manners and morals had been taught orally from the beginning of the modern school system, including lessons on virtue in the classic Confucian sense; namely, filial piety, propriety, and loyalty. The Western education had tended to depreciate formal treatment of this subject as a separate course in the curriculum. Japanese Government leaders had become alarmed at the independence of the students and were hearing demands for a return to the Confucian-ethical base of education. The Department, in writing the new Educational Ordinance in 1880, made morals a required course. Under the direction of retired army officers, it also introduced military drill to some classes in public school, "for the reason that it was useful as moral and intellectual as well as physical training."[15]

Toward the end of the same year schools were forbidden to use books containing materials "dangerous to national peace or injurious to public morals." To provide guidance on approved subject matter the Department began to compile a series of standard texts for the various subjects which included the principles of loyalty and filial piety, a traditional part of Japan's ethical ideas. The Confucianists responded by writing books, making speeches, forming societies, and assuming positions in the Department of Education.

In 1885 Arinori Mori, ex-diplomatic representative to the U. S., was appointed Minister of State for Education in the cabinet of his friend Count (later Prince) Hirobumi Ito.

One of his first acts was to write in 1886 a series of education ordinances to replace the single code of education of 1880. These ordinances provided a uniform, standardized educational system under centralized control of a Ministry of Education and made 4 years of school compulsory. They became the basis for the modern system. For it, Mori stated the revised object of education when he said: "In the administration of all schools, it must be kept in mind, what is done is not for the sake of the pupils, but for the sake of the country."[16] Schools, he held, are places to build loyal subjects, who will become resources in bringing about the prosperity of the country, and the main method of building such subjects is morals education and military training.

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[15] Kikuchi, op. cit., p. 333.

[16] G. B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), p. 459.

Several years before in Paris, Mori and Ito (who later wrote the Meiji Constitution) had discussed problems Japan faced—the Constitution the Emperor had promised and the educational system then under attack. "It is highly probable," says Sansom, "that the educational policy introduced in 1886 was designed by them in consultation so as to harmonize with the constitutional principles, particularly the doctrine of the supremacy of the state, which Ito planned to embody in his draft."[17] The educational reforms he introduced, which fixed the pattern for schools during the epoch extending through World War II, reversed the program of Tanaka and Murray which Mori apparently had supported during the previous decade. The new system, though resembling that in the U. S. in organization and in teaching methods, conformed to the new Japanese policy.

At this juncture, they discovered, together with the educators of the U. S. and other countries, a new German school of pedagogy—that of the idealist philosopher, Herbart. The Japanese felt Herbartian ideas fitted their needs more closely than Pestalozzi's, for Herbart's disciples advocated moral education as the main object of education and held that it could best be achieved by a study of national history and literature.[18] The Prussians had achieved State control of education—one of the goals of the Japanese leaders. Thereafter, Japanese scholars going abroad tended to go to German universities to study educational philosophy and German Herbartians were called to Tokyo.

German educational philosophy was influential in the school system at the same time that German constitutional scholars were advising on the drawing up of the new Japanese Constitution. In both cases, there was borrowing. This time, it was selective to reinforce rather than displace the native Shinto-Confucian philosophy. The Japanese interpreted their problems as being similar to Germany's—the necessity to catch up with other powers in national strength—and they felt that German solutions were appropriate to their needs. According to one writer, the Japanese might have produced the same kind of system with or without German ideas.[19]

Mori's program of morals teaching, military training, and nationalism in the new code helped produce a sense of national solidarity among the student population. During the 1880's, therefore, education moved toward nationalism and developed along lines of standardization and State control.

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[17] Ibid., p. 461.

[18] The leaders interpreted the five virtues of Herbartianism—sincerity, integrity, good will, justice, and reward—as the Confucian principles of morality, benevolence, righteousness, civility, wisdom, and fidelity, and considered Herbartianism as evidence of the correctness of their stand. See: Kiyoko Takeda Cho, *Christian Criticism of Traditional Japanese Ethics in the Meiji Period*, p. 35.

[19] Sansom, op. cit., p. 363–64.

After the Constitution of 1889, the next step was to devise a statement of nationalist educational philosophy which would be in line with the Constitution and serve as a basic guide for the Nation's schools.

This step was achieved by the issuance, in the name of the Emperor, of a short document—*the Imperial Rescript on Education*[20]—on October 30, 1890, destined to influence Japan's history. Primarily instigated by Motoda, a Confucianist in the Imperial Household, it stated the objectives of education in terms of Shinto-Confucianist values. The Shinto ideology of Emperor worship was combined with the Confucian ethical concepts of loyalty, filial piety, and obedience to superiors. The duties of subject to ruler were expanded to include the obligation "to respect the Constitution and observe the laws" and to offer one's self courageously to the State should emergency arise. The philosophy of education in this Rescript was interpreted over the years as a statement of moral standards for the Japanese.

Ancestor worship, loyalty to the Emperor, duty to State, and filial piety were crystallized as State morals and absolute virtues. The Rescript tied together religion, patriotism, and the family system. It became a catechism memorized and recited by the people, and periodically made the center of a religious ritual in school assemblies throughout the land. On such occasions, the National Anthem was sung, then the principal removed the Imperial Rescript from its lacquered case and read it, intoning as if in prayer. He dared not make a mistake, for that would be an insult to the Imperial Family, and might cost him his job, or, if he were especially ardent, might cause him even to commit suicide. In the State school system, its philosophy permeated the curriculum until 1946. Primarily taught through the morals course, it was also the basis for history, geography, and other courses. It contributed to placing the direction of education in the hands of the national leaders and the Confucianists—helped unify the people, and strengthened the Government.

Over the years, the Imperial Rescript was interpreted and reinterpreted in keeping with the rising nationalism. Commentaries on this brief edict were voluminous by the 1920's; and by the early 1930's, it was sponsored by the militarists. Principals of schools were responsible for preserving the document, and some reportedly sacrificed their lives rescuing it from burning schoolhouses. By

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[20] For full text, see appendix A, p. 215.

1937 it had received an additional exegesis in a nationalistic document, *Kokutai No Hongi* (Basic Principles of the National Policy),[21] which had a stringent effect on the school system.

Nationalism, promoted in the schools following the publication of Mori's ordinances of 1886, was stimulated by the effort to revise unequal treaties and by the Japanese victories in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05). The demonstration by school children that they could read the news about the war against China, was evidence to many of the value of public education and brought greater support for the schools.

Despite the fact that from 1886 to World War II various rescripts and directives were issued to limit foreign learning to technical matters, new ideas continued to seep in, especially after World War I when news of the peace plans of President Woodrow Wilson and of the Russian Revolution reached Japan. Liberalism, socialism, democracy, and communism caught attention of students and intellectuals.

During the post-World War I period, there was a revival of interest in democratic education. Some of the younger Japanese scholars studying in the U. S. observed progressive education and found in John Dewey's writings what they considered a systematic educational theory based on democracy. Several of the students translated into Japanese Dewey's books *School and Society*, *The Child and the Curriculum*, *Democracy and Education*, and *Reconstruction of Philosophy*. Twice Dewey was invited to Japan to lecture, first in 1918 at Waseda University where he spoke on "The Philosophical Basis of Democracy," and again in 1919 at Tokyo Imperial University where he outlined his instrumentalist philosophy.

The influence of his writings and lectures could be observed especially in the higher normal schools. The Japanese also brought to Japan such persons as Helen Dalton, originator of the Dalton plan, William H. Kilpatrick of Teachers College, Columbia University, and Carlton Washburne, superintendent of a progressive school system at Winnetka, Ill. Such influences were to be noted in teacher training until the early 1930's when militarism and nationalism then began to pattern education to fit the needs of the new order.

Wartime Epoch

Specialized agencies of thought control had been organized within the Ministry of Education, from 1928 on. When the army group came to power in 1931, it sought to eliminate liberalism among teachers and students and to replace it with faith in the "national polity," and "Japanese spirit." This resulted in "thought control," to prevent people from thinking "dangerous thoughts" about foreign ideologies and win them to the principles of the *Imperial Rescript on Education.*

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[21] For complete text, see Robert King Hall, *editor*, *Kokutai No Hongi: Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan*, translated by John Owen Gauntlett (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1949), 200 p.

Called variously Bureau of Thought Supervision and Bureau of Education and Training, the Ministry agency was divided into two parts. A section of thought supervision, by punitive measures in cooperation with the secret police, tried to control thought in schools and conducted propaganda campaigns. An investigation section surveyed thought problems in schools and social education institutes and examined books. It was this Thought Supervision Bureau that produced such policy books as *The Way of the Subject* (Shimmin no Michi) and *Basic Principles of the National Polity.*

Specialized councils of educators and laymen, such as the Council on Innovation in Education and Learning, were established to advise the Minister on policy for a thought program to insure the support of the people for nationalism. The following summary of their recommendations drawn up in 1936 present the philosophy of the thought-control program:

> 1. Japanese institutions should be interpreted in accordance with national aims, which should be contrasted with the individualism and materialism of the West.
>
> 2. All things not in conformity with national policy should be excluded from Japanese thinking.
>
> 3. University professors should be chosen not only for scholarship but also for loyalty to Japanese tradition.
>
> 4. In the elementary schools, especially, the Japanese spirit and ancestor worship should be stressed.
>
> 5. In the training of teachers, principals, and inspectors, the importance of political reliability should be emphasized.
>
> 6. Textbooks should be designed to enhance the national spirit and should include an examination and refutation of foreign social philosophies.
>
> 7. Courses, such as morals and civics, should be taught in such a way as to strengthen filial piety, loyalty, obedience to law.
>
> 8. History, in particular, should interpret Japan's social and political system favorably.
>
> 9. Other subjects, such as practical and fine arts and physical training, should also be utilized.[22]

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[22] The Council on Innovation in Education and Learning, Draft of the Proposal of the Council on Innovation in Learning and Education, October 1936. *In*: Mark T. Orr, *Education Reform Policy in Occupied Japan* (Chapel Hill, N. C., University of North Carolina, 1954), p. 23–25. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation.)

The Government felt the need for an official statement to define the moral basis for patriotism through unswerving loyalty to the Imperial family. The Ministry bureau responsible for thought control issued, in 1937, its policy document—*Basic Principles of the National Polity*—which elaborated on the *Imperial Rescript*. It traced the divine origin of Japan, its Imperial family and its people, and redefined the Japanese spirit to awaken the people's national consciousness and stimulate them to greater efforts in "guarding and maintaining the prosperity of the Imperial throne" and backing national policy.

Several million copies were distributed to teachers from the elementary level to the university. It was required reading for students at the junior college and normal school levels. Teaching staffs were required to study it in groups, and "morals" teachers were expected to master it.[23] The theme—a mystical Emporer-worship—was to become the core of educational philosophy and the basis for a philosophy of life for the citizens. With the aid of commentaries, *Basic Principles of the National Polity* provided the Nation with a guide to social ideals and behavior which helped teachers to mold thought and train youth to its approved action.

After the war with China was resumed in 1937, the Government felt the need to revise education to bring it in line with the goals of the New Order in East Asia. Placing reliance on research and propaganda organizations, the earlier Council on Innovation in Education and Learning was replaced with a new high-level Education Investigation Council, which took the responsibility for thought control out of the hands of the Ministry of Education and put it under the Premier's office.

The mission of this council was to implement the proposals of the preceding council, draft a plan of action which would explain and justify the position of Japan in Greater East Asia, and correlate all branches of study with the theories of Japanese nationalism.[24]

In 1938, while the war in China was continuing, militarists exerted increased efforts to marshal the schools behind the war. General Sadao Araki, who was appointed Minister of Education, stressed spiritual and moral education as a means of promoting loyalty to the Emperor and service to the State.

Out of the work of the Education Investigation Council came the National School Reform of 1941. It was not fully implemented because of the war; it did contribute to changes in the curriculum at lower school levels. At the elementary level, according to Ministry of Education Order No. 4, March 14, 1941, the aim of the morals course was "to make students realize the moral mission of the Empire, and by training them in practical morality, to cultivate virtues based on the principles of the Imperial Rescript on Education." The aim of language study was ". . . to train the students in the ability of self-expression in and understanding of everyday language, and to cultivate national spirit through the study of national thought and feeling." The study of history was "to make students learn the essence of our nation's history, and to make them realize the historical mission of the empire. . . . [The teacher should help them] trace the development of the Empire in accordance with [the ideas of] the remoteness of the foundation of the Nation, the unbroken Imperial line, the glorious achievements of our successive Emperors, the deeds of the loyal and wise, and the historical record of the services rendered by all the people to the country."

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[23] Robert King Hall, *Education for a New Japan* (New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Press, 1949), p. 17.

[24] Orr, op. cit., p. 25.

Science and mathematics as well as physical education were pressed into service. The study of science and mathematics was "to enable students . . . to cultivate the creative spirit, based on reason, and to enable them to contribute to the growth of the nation." Further it was "to make them realize their duties in the mission of cultural creation based on the mission of the Empire." Physical training was "to make them vigorous and strong in mind and body and [thus] increase their ability to carry out [the ideal of] service through self-sacrifice [for the country]." [25] It is estimated that about a third of the curriculum was then devoted to nationalistic content.[26]

Military officers were in key positions in schools and held final jurisdiction over educational activities, and the new nationalistic educational philosophy was still being formulated. The Imperial Rescript had had over a hundred commentaries, including the restatement of it in the *Basic Principles of the National Polity;* Ministry bureaus had published theories on nationalist education and distributed copies of them. In 1941, another policy document, *The Way of the Subject*, was issued.[27] Like its predecessor, *Basic Principles of the National Polity*, it was a textbook for indoctrination of teachers and students in loyalty and filial piety, and it defended on moral grounds the activities of Japan abroad. It attacked individualism and described the correct "Way of the Subject" which was based on "Service to the State." It formed the third in a trilogy of statements of educational philosophy, beginning with the Imperial Rescript.

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[25] Translated from: Kindai Nihon Kyoiku Seido Shiryo Hensan-Kai, *Kindai Nihon Kyoiku Seido Shiryo*. Tokyo, Dai Nihon Yubenkai Kodansha, Showa 31. [Editorial Committee for Historical Materials on the Recent Japanese Educational System. *Historical Materials on the Recent Japanese Educational System*. Tokyo, Dai Nihon Yubenkai Kodansha, 1956.] Vol. II, p. 230–33.

[26] Delmar M. Brown, *Nationalism in Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1955), p. 222.

[27] A translation appears in: Otto D. Tolischus, *Tokyo Record* (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1943), p. 426–27.

Educational philosophy, as spelled out in the core course in morals, taught that the value of a person was in his usefulness and subservience to the State. As one Japanese educator said: "Japan was so engrossed in the work of equipping herself as a modern state that she had to subordinate all human values to tasks of immediate urgency, namely consolidation of her national power, and the acquisition of wealth."[28] Loyalty and patriotism were considered the highest virtues; individualism, internationalism, and pacificism were allied with treason. The State was absolute.

At the top of the pyramid of authority was the small group of leaders which shifted from the group of outer samurai [29] of early Meiji days to the militarists of the 1930's and 1940's. The Government leaders became "guides to the people's morals, keepers of the people's conscience, and arbiters of the people's destinies."[30] The schools were used to teach their philosophy that the State was moral and the "good Japanese" was expected to devote his life to its service and, if need be, die for it.

Democratization Epoch

The Early Period

The Allies felt that the philosophy of education had to be changed if Japan were to return to paths of peace. This would not be simple, for the philosophy was a product of more than half a century of indoctrination in service to the State and was based on traditions that taught the virtue of fitting into a fixed hierarchy.

On July 26, 1945, President Harry S. Truman and Prime Minister Winston Churchill issued the proclamation known as the Potsdam Declaration. This now historic declaration of democratic philosophy became the basis for Allied policy in Japan and served as a framework for educational policy during the Occupation period. It required the Japanese to eliminate ". . . for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest." Such action was to be accompanied by the removal of ". . . all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights, shall be established."[31]

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[28] Shigeru Nambara, The Ideals of Educational Reforms in Japan, *Educational Record*, 31 : 6, January 1950.

[29] Engineers of the Restoration were subordinate members of distant clans. They were called outer *samurai* to distinguish them from the relatives and close allies of the *shogun* located nearer to the capital.

[30] SCAP, *Political Reorientation of Japan: September 1945 to September 1948* (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949), vol. I, p. 88. (Report of Government Section.)

Immediately, the Occupation authorities faced the problem of devising specific policy to meet the situation in Japan. Recognizing the importance of education, they included school reform in the plans.

Tentative plans for a full-scale military government were abandoned in favor of a policy of working through the Emperor and the machinery of Japanese Government.

The "United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan," encouraging individual liberties and democratic processes, specifically said of education:

> Militarism and ultra-nationalism, in doctrine and practice, including paramilitary training, shall be eliminated from the educational system. Former career military and naval officers both commissioned and non-commissioned, and all other exponents of militarism and ultra-nationalism shall be excluded from supervisory and teaching positions.[32]

Even before the Occupation got under way, the Japanese Government through its Ministry of Education had moved to conform to what it thought would be Allied policy. It promptly handed down a series of instructions to schools for the purpose of eliminating militarism and developing democratic forms. These instructions included such subjects as the abolition of wartime education acts, the switching from wartime to peacetime education in primary and secondary schools, the deletion of warlike educational materials from textbooks, the dissolution of militaristic youth organizations, and the prohibition of military training and practice of military sports.[33]

All these were done voluntarily, under the leadership of Tamon Maeda, who had been appointed Minister of Education 3 days after Japan's surrender. He says of this experience:

> . . . for about a month following my appointment as Minister of Education . . . we were permitted a comparatively free hand, with a minimum of restraints being employed, due largely to the fact that the Occupation

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[31] U. S. Congress, *Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. A Decade of American Foreign Policy, Basic Documents: 1941–49* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 49-50. (Senate Document 123. 81st Cong., 1st Sess.)

[32] SCAP, *Political Reorientation of Japan: September 1945 to September 1948*, vol. II, p. 424.

[33] Mombusho, *Gakusei Hachijunen Shi* (Tokyo, Mombusho, Showa 29), 488. [Ministry of Education, Eighty Year History of the Educational System. Tokyo, the Ministry, 1954. p. 488.]

> authorities themselves had at this time not yet completely established their own policy. Such was the state of affairs when, under the date of September 15, I issued my own "Educational Plan for Building the New Japan."[34]

His plan prepared the schools for what was to come and demonstrated the willingness of the Japanese to cooperate.

A limited Military Government was set up in Japan and a special staff section called Civil Information and Education (CIE) was organized on September 22, 1945, and given responsibility for guidance in reorientation and reeducation. The Potsdam Declaration and the United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan formed the basis for Occupation policy. Responsibility for interpreting and implementing policy fell on the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP, which also was used to signify the Supreme Command, including military and civilian personnel).

SCAP's initial method of operation in the area of education was to have the CIE Section send directives to the Japanese Government which established principles and required performance in the carrying out of reforms. In the 46 Prefectures throughout the country an American Military Government Team stood parallel to the prefectural government and exercised surveillance over it in the performance required by the directives. As soon as possible, a CIE "officer"—generally a professional teacher, not a soldier—was included in the makeup of each team to inspect schools and "guide and assist" Japanese educators in reform.

During the 4 months immediately following the Occupation—September through December 1945—four policy directives were issued which laid the groundwork for the education reform program of the 6½ years of the Occupation. The first of these directives, entitled "Administration of the Educational System of Japan," took effect on October 22, 1945.[35] It contained a statement of educational objectives and policies, beginning with policies related to two general aims of the Occupation: (1) Prohibiting the dissemination of militaristic and ultranationalistic ideology and requiring the discontinuance of military education and drill, and (2) encouraging of democratic educational concepts and practices aimed at developing an educated, peaceful, and responsible citizenry. To accomplish these aims, it directed that a "normally operating education system will be re-established as rapidly as possible."[36]

Militarists and ultranationalists were to be removed from teaching; while anti-militarists and liberals who had been dismissed during the nationalist period were to be considered for reinstatement. Militarism and ultranationalism were to be rooted out of school curriculums, textbooks, teaching manuals, and instructional materials. And on the positive side, democratic curriculums were to be established as soon as possible. The first part of the policy was the almost exclusive concern of the Occupation during the first 6 months. At the same time the positive or democratization mission began to get under way. This first directive constituted the main outline of reform. In general, succeeding directives repeated these ideas and suggested means of putting them into practice.

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[34] The Direction of Postwar Education in Japan, *Japan Quarterly*, 3: 415, October–December 1956.

[35] SCAP, CIE, *Education in the New Japan* (Tokyo, GHQ, 1948), vol. II, p. 26–28.

[36] Ibid., vol. II, p. 28.

The second SCAP directive, "Investigation, Screening, and Certification of Teachers and Educational Officials" of October 30, 1945,[37] required the Japanese to set up machinery for screening the Nation's half-million teachers. It contained three major provisions: (1) Immediate removal of all teachers "known to be militaristic, ultra-nationalistic, or antagonistic to the objectives and policies of the Occupation . . .," (2) disbarment for the time being from the field of educational activity of all ex-soldiers, and (3) establishment of suitable administrative machinery for "the investigation, screening, and certification of all present and prospective teachers and educational officials."[38] The process of carrying out such screening was delayed for a year, since attention was focused on political officials first.

The third SCAP directive of December 15, 1945—"Abolition of Governmental Sponsorship, Support, Perpetuation, Control, and Dissemination of State Shinto (Kokka Shinto, Jinja Shinto)"—provided for separating the Shinto religion from the State. It prohibited "the dissemination of Shinto doctrines in any form and by any means in any educational institution supported wholly or in part by public funds . . ."[39] Specifically, the directive required deletion of Shinto doctrine from textbooks and teachers' manuals, barred schools from taking students to Shinto shrines or observing Shinto rites, and forbade governmental circulation of the two nationalistic documents, *Basic Principles of the National Polity* and *The Way of the People.*

In several of these directives, the Occupation had used the expressions "militarism" and "ultranationalism" without defining them sharply. The Shinto directive contained a brief and general definition which was later expanded as follows:

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[37] Ibid., vol. II, p. 29-30.

[38] Ibid., vol. II, p. 29.

[39] Ibid., vol. II, p. 32-33.

> *Militarism*—subject matter shall be deleted from textbooks which is designed to promote (1) . . . the glorification of war as a heroic and acceptable way of settling disputes; (2) glorification of dying for the Emperor with unquestioning loyalty; (3) idealization of war heroes by glorifying their military achievements; (4) development of the idea that the military service is the only patriotic manner of serving one's country; and (5) glorification of military objects such as guns, warships, tanks, fortresses, etc.
>
> *Ultranationalism*—subject matter . . . that (1) promotes the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere doctrine or any other doctrine of expansion; (2) advocates the idea that the Japanese people are superior to other races or nationalities; (3) teaches concepts and attitudes contrary to the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations; (4) propagates the idea that the Emperor should be obeyed with unquestioning loyalty or that the Emperor is superior to the heads of other states or that the Emperor system is sacred or immutable."[40]

When the textbook examiners in the central Government offices or in a remote country school received such definitions and tried to eliminate such materials from their children's books, they had to tear the books almost to pieces. Some pages would have all of the text cut out, leaving only the margin intact. In various others, the doctrine was so interwoven into the fabric of the document that the texts could not be used. On December 31, 1945, a fourth directive was sent to the Japanese Government, entitled "Suspension of Courses in Morals (Shushin), Japanese History and Geography."[41] The three courses were dropped, and the texts in these courses were withdrawn from circulation. The geography course was the first of these to have new texts prepared and was reopened 6 months later. The Japanese history course was resumed 9 months later. The morals course was not restored to the curriculum until 1958.

These four directives were issued in the first phase of the Occupation. With the beginning of the new year—1946—a step was taken in a positive direction with the issuance on January 9 of a directive announcing the imminent visit of a U. S. Education Mission for the purpose of advising on educational reconstruction. The directive instructed the Japanese Government to appoint a committee of Japanese educators to work with the Mission, indicating that the fields concerned would be educational methods, language revision, reorganization of the Ministry of Education, and decentralization of the educational system.[42]

The 27-man Mission arrived in March 1946 for almost a month's study. It worked with the counterpart body, the Japanese Educa-

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[40] Ibid., vol. I, p. 240–41.
[41] Ibid., vol. II, p. 36–37.
[42] Ibid., vol. II, p. 41.

US Army photograph

US Education Mission to Japan, March 21, 1946.

Left to right, seated: George W. Diemer, Frank N. Freeman, Wilson Compton, Emily Woodward, Virginia C. Gildersleeve, George D. Stoddard (Chairman), John N. Andrews, Mildred McAfee Horton, Pearl A. Wanamaker, Alexander J. Stoddard, Isaac L. Kandel, Gordon T. Bowles. Standing: Harold Benjamin, Thomas V. Smith, Frederick G. Hochwalt, Willard E. Givens, George S. Counts, Charles S. Johnson, Roy J. Deferrari, Wm. Clark Trow, Kermit Eby, Ernest R. Hilgard, Leon Carnovksy, E. B. Norton, Paul P. Stewart, David Harrison Stevens, Charles H. McCloy.

tion Committee (JEC) on a basis of equality. Wide areas of agreement were reached in an atmosphere of cordiality. After the Mission departed, the Japanese Government, recognizing the honor accorded the Japanese group, raised the status of its committee to Cabinet rank and changed its name to the Japanese Education Reform Council (JERC).

Though the U. S. Education Mission Report—submitted to General MacArthur on March 30, 1946—was presented to the Japanese as suggested and not official policy, it became a policy guide both for the Japanese and the Occupation officials. Most of its suggestions were carried out. Among them were: (1) Introduction of freedom and democratic participation into education, (2) decentralization of Ministry of Education control, (3) substitution of social studies for morals, (4) a 6–3–3 ladder[43] with the first 9 years compulsory and free for all children, (5) greater emphasis on physical education and vocational education at all levels, (6) independence of private schools, (7) change in methods of student guidance, (8) development of adult education, (9) increase in number of universities, and (10) broadening teacher training by means of 4-year normal schools which would provide both professional and liberal education. The Mission report provided a blueprint for the educational system which evolved.

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[43] The educational structure is patterned after the 6-year elementary, followed by 3-year junior high, then 3-year senior high school common to a large part of the U. S. Previously the Japanese had a 6-5-3 system.

The stature of JERC grew until it became the primary Japanese source of education reform policy. JERC was responsible directly to the Prime Minister and its advice to the Minister of Education regarding the implementation of U. S. Mission suggestions carried weight. It was considered by the Japanese as probably the most important such educational council that had been organized since the Meiji Era began.[44] It functioned from 1946 until late in 1951.

JERC studied and made recommendations on every major problem mentioned by the U. S. Education Mission. Its members saw themselves as forwarding the Japanese restoration of the early Meiji days;[45] they showed great courage in their action. They functioned without a representative of the Occupation or of the Ministry present. They were encouraged to act independently and produce recommendations for the best interests of Japan. From the beginning they supported the Mission recommendations on decentralization of Ministry control and on a child-centered rather than subject-centered curriculum. Their first three concerns were: (1) To arrive at a statement of official policy to supplant the inoperative Imperial Rescript, (2) to consider the Mission's recommendation of a single-track system[46] and a 6–3–3–4 ladder, and (3) to democratize educational administration. The Education Division of CIE did not accept or approve all recommendations of JERC; there were no serious disagreements on fundamental matters.

A joint steering committee composed of three members each from JERC, the Ministry of Education, and the Education Division of CIE was organized on September 20, 1946, and held weekly meetings to advise the Council. The Chief of the Education Division, who presided over these meetings, reports that they were conducted, like those between the Education Mission and JEC, in a friendly, professional atmosphere, and that a sense of mutual respect and confidence was developed between the Japanese participants and those from the U. S.[47]

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[44] Japanese Education Reform Council, *Education Reform in Japan: The Present Status and the Problems Involved* (Tokyo, the Council, 1950), p. 3.

[45] Loc. cit.

[46] See chapter II.

[47] Orr, op. cit., p. 219–21.

By the spring of 1946, the Military Government (later called Civil Affairs) included professional educators among the CIE officers at Eighth Army headquarters at Yokohama and on subordinate corps, regional, and prefectural teams throughout the country. Civilian teachers were brought from the U. S. to serve on these teams with the major jobs of inspecting schools for compliance with the directives and advising school officials. Their main contribution, however, was aimed at interpreting the reforms and supporting local administrators and teachers in carrying them out.

The educational system that finally emerged, while neither what the Japanese nor the Occupation authorities probably would have produced if left to their own devices, was a viable educational plan —the result of the interaction of the Japanese and the U. S. points of view. It was, in short, the product of compromise by men of good will on both sides, with the interests of Japan's children at heart.

Four major goals emerged during the first two years of the Occupation: (1) the elimination of militarism and ultranationalism, (2) democratization, (3) modernization, and (4) decentralization of educational control.

With Japanese cooperation and compliance, that part of the first objective—demilitarization—was accomplished quickly in education as well as in other phases of life. The slogans of the militarists had a hollow ring after the defeat. Ultranationalism based upon Shinto dogma—the other subject treated in the initial objective—lost hold when the defeat proved its pretensions to be false. The way was cleared for positive measures.

The second objective—democratization—was less tangible and more difficult. Though there were seeds of democracy in Japanese history and in community custom, the Japanese had not experienced any long slow struggle for political rights as had the West, and, consequently, democracy was more difficult to understand.[48] The word was used loosely to cover many activities. At the same time, it became the guide against which all moves, public and private, were measured. Courageous Japanese stepped forward as leaders in the cause of democracy in education and they were supported by educators from the U. S. who were brought to Japan as advisers and as CIE officers at the prefectural level.

The third objective—modernization and general improvement of Japanese education—met with support from most Japanese educators who sought to learn about "the new education." The realities of the depleted Japanese economy often inhibited them in upgrading their schools.

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[48] See: Nobutaka Ike, *The Beginning of Political Democracy in Japan* (Baltimore, Maryland, Johns Hopkins Press, 1950), 246 p.

The fourth objective—decentralization—was based on a conviction that the pyramidal controls of the past must be broken down and education put in the hands of the people if the people were to appreciate its advantages and mold it to fit their needs. With all these aims, there was a realization in theory, not always followed at the operating level, that educational reform could be permanent only if it were planned and carried out by the Japanese themselves. The Supreme Commander frequently warned Occupational personnel that democracy could not be enforced from above. In theory, their role was to guide and assist—not to direct, operate, or govern.

Democratization and modernization were keys to Occupation education policy. Invariably, in the American mind, they led to the concomitant policy of decentralization. But Japanese traditions were different from those of the U. S. To the Japanese, their small country, and its closely knit society made for a centralized system. Thus, in this objective, Occupation authorities met resistance, and 8 years later it was the first reform to be subjected to a reverse course.[49]

In the first directives against ultranationalism which banned the *Basic Principles of National Polity* and *the Way of the Subject*, Occupation authorities did not mention the *Imperial Rescript on*

Chart I.—Basic educational policy: old and new

Imperial Rescript (1890)	Fundamental Law of Education (1947)
Nature of society	
Society based on Confucian hierarchical relationships.	Society based on "mutual esteem and cooperation."
Nature of State	
Divine empire founded by Imperial ancestors.	"A democratic and cultural State", built by the people.
Relation of citizens to State	
Citizens have the duty to develop their intellectual and moral faculties, observe the laws, and offer themselves courageously to the State in order to guard and maintain the prosperity of the Imperial throne.	Citizens have the right to "equal opportunity of receiving education according to their ability"; freedom from "discrimination on account of race, creed, sex, social status, economic position, or family origin"; financial assistance to the able needy; "academic freedom"; and the responsibility to build a "peaceful State and society."
Aim of Education	
To promote loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety, thus to achieve unity of the people under father-Emperor.	To promote "full development of personality"; "esteem individual value"; and "be imbued with independent spirit."

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[49] In June 1956, the intent of the School Board Law of 1948 was reversed by Diet action making elective boards appointive and restoring a large measure of centralized power to the Minister of Education.

Education. The swift moving events of the first few postwar years countered any lingering influence it might have had. A major blow to the Rescript came when the Emperor renounced his divinity in his New Year's Day speech in 1946. On October 8, 1946, the Ministry of Education instructed the directors of schools to "refrain from considering the Imperial Rescript as a sole source of educational philosophy in the country" and to cease its ceremonial reading in the schools.[50] As yet, the Government had no substitute to present as a philosophy on which to base democratic education.

The new Constitution adopted November 3, 1946, and effective the following May 3, specifically revoked previous rescripts in conflict with it and guaranteed a number of educational freedoms. Among provisions impinging on the area of education, it provided for fundamental human rights (Article 14) and guaranteed freedom of thought and conscience (Article 19); freedom of religion (Article 20); academic freedom (Article 23); and the right of all people "to receive an education correspondent to their ability" (Article 26).[51] These guarantees helped fill the vacuum caused by the disappearance of the *Imperial Rescript on Education.* The ultimate rejection of this Imperial Rescript came with a Diet Resolution of June 19, 1948, which officially declared it invalid and directed that it be withdrawn from the schools.

The educational guarantees of the new Constitution began to be implemented with the passage of the Fundamental Law of Education[52] of March 1947 which was based upon four sources: (1) The first major policy directive—the Administration of the Educational System of Japan, (2) the Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan, (3) the recommendations of JERC, and (4) the consensus of liberal Japanese educators. The fact that it was passed by the Imperial Diet was significant since it was the first time the Diet had legislated on education. Prewar education policy had been handed down by Imperial Rescript. Legislation on education previously had been a prerogative of the Ministry of Education, through its orders, notifications, and directives. Now, the fundamental Law of Education became the statement of the philosophy of the new democratic education; it was the charter for education in the new

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[50] Mombusho, *Hatsu Hi 3 go.* [Ministry of Education. Personnel Section. Publication No. 3]. For translation see, SCAP, CIE, *Education in the New Japan*, vol. II, p. 172.

[51] *The Constitution of Japan: Effective May 3, 1947* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947), 13 p. (Department of State. Publication 2836. Far Eastern Series 22.)

[52] Ministry of Education, *Educational Laws and Regulations in Japan: The Constitution of Japan* [and] *The Fundamental Law of Education* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1955), Series 1, p. 10–11.

Japan. The contrast between it and the displaced Imperial Rescript is reflected in Chart I, p. 26. The source of sovereignty in the Imperial Rescript (and the allied Meiji Constitution) was the Emperor and the Imperial family. In the Fundamental Law of Education, as in the new Constitution which it implemented, sovereignty rested with the people. The new law shifted the goals of education to a "full development of personality" and "independent spirit" of the people (Article 1).

Duties were stressed in the rescript; rights in the fundamental law. The earlier document exhorted the people to "pursue learning and cultivate the arts and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers" for the sole goal of serving the State. The new law stressed the rights of academic freedom (Article 2), equal educational opportunity according to ability (Article 3), and free compulsory education for 9 years (Article 4). In the Imperial Rescript the exhortation to "offer yourselves courageously to the State," presented the highest goal. Now, it was the rearing of the people who would be "builders of the peaceful state and society."

The Ministry, in reviewing the law, pointed out its essential liberalism:

> Now the "academic freedom" instead of the nationalistic suppression, the "spontaneous spirit" instead of the feudalistic doctrine of regimentation, and the free, peaceful . . . "creation and development of culture" instead of the militaristic narrowness . . . have been provided as the basic principles of education in Japan.[53]

The School Education Law of March 1947, which accompanied the Fundamental Law of Education, provided detail for use in carrying out the aims of the new education. It set up the basic structure of the entire educational system on a 6–3–3–4 plan and specified goals for each level of schooling. It made 9 years of education compulsory and provided for equal educational opportunity for the handicapped. With the enactment of these laws, basic policy governing educational reform—except for decentralization—had been hammered out. At first it was by directive. Even so, as a result of advance collaboration, the Ministry was ready with plans to implement the reform by the time the official document reached the Ministry office.

Allied policy recognized the importance of turning over control to the Japanese as soon as they were ready. In the Supreme Commander's Message to the People of Japan issued on Constitution

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[53] Ministry of Education, *Progress of Education Reform in Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1950), p. 10.

Day, May 3, 1949,[54] General MacArthur said that the new framework was well established. Two months later, he instructed his General Headquarters (GHQ), "The Japanese Government and its agencies will generally be permitted and encouraged to exercise the normal powers of government in matters of domestic administration."[55] From then on to the time of the Peace Treaty, responsibility or initiative in the conduct of affairs gradually was turned over to the Japanese.

Though there was some misunderstanding and disagreement, the fashioning of a democratic educational policy through extensive cooperation by representatives of military victors and of those whose soil was occupied was unique in the history of the world. The major obstacle to the meeting of minds in education was the difficulty in communication. Since few of the U. S. representatives knew the Japanese language, they had to depend on interpreters, at best an unsatisfactory arrangement.

Furthermore, few U. S. personnel understood Japanese culture and psychology, and only a handful had had prewar experience in or with the Japanese school system.[56] The educators from the U. S. were acquainted with their own local or State systems at home, consequently their proposals based on their own experience were not always appropriate to the Japanese system.

Japanese educational officials at the national and prefectural level often lacked specialized training in their postwar areas of responsibility. Many were law graduates who had worked their way up to high positions. As time passed, the two groups—the Japanese education officials and the Occupation officials—learned to understand each other and to work together effectively. The Japanese soon began to grasp the philosophy and principles of the reforms, and as educational leaders appeared who understood and accepted the ideas, the Japanese were increasingly cooperative. As U. S. representatives came to understand the Japanese situation better, their proposals became more appropriate. Consequently, their objectives tended to merge.[57]

There were five stages in the formulation of reform policy: (1) The slate first was wiped clean by doing away with the existing structure of education; (2) the U. S. Education Mission surveyed the situation and recommended new methods and institutions; (3) JEC and its successor, JERC, considered the U. S. Education Mission recommendations as a basis for development of the new system; (4) reform measures decided upon by JERC were cast into bills by the Ministry of Education in consultation with SCAP; and (5) bills were debated, amended, and passed by the Diet and put into effect.

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[54] Documentary Material. *Contemporary Japan: A Review of East Asiatic Affairs*, 18: 274–75, Apr.–June 1949. (Published by the Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, Tokyo.)

[55] Occupation Instructions No. 5, GHQ, SCAP, January 1, 1948, as amended July 1, 1949. Quoted in: Mark T. Orr, *Education Reform Policy in Occupied Japan*, p. 195.

[56] A few teachers from the U. S. who had taught in the prewar Japanese system found themselves in positions of leadership in the Occupation.

[57] Orr, op. cit., p. 207.

In general, democratic policy was the product of compromise. Japanese educators frequently aver that neither in theory nor practice was the new education system forced on Japan. A number of Japanese educators were already convinced of the need for reform and were ready to take advantage of the opportunity to create a democratic school system. Minister of Education Yoshishige Abe, in meeting the U. S. Education Mission on March 8, 1946, warned against the danger of too much experimentation, but assured the Mission of the willingness to effect reforms in education. He said that "this defeat of ours was in a sense a good opportunity sent by heaven to make all the Japanese people realize what freedom really means, and to let education proceed in such a direction as will make the Japanese people apostles of truth and peace. No, we should never throw away this opportunity."[58]

The Present Period

Liberal educational philosophy, such as the progressivism of John Dewey popular in the 1920's,[59] was widely acclaimed and followed by educational reformers—both Japanese and American—during the Occupation. In the post-Occupation period there has been a tendency away from "progressivism" towards "essentialism." Social studies were a target for attack and have been modified since 1954.[60]

The Imperial Rescript provided a set of absolute values which became a specific catechism for all. In contrast, the Fundamental Law of Education is looked upon by many Japanese as an unemotional, vague, and legalistic document. Particularly in rural areas, hierarchical social relations and an authoritarian family system remain.

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[58] SCAP, CIE, *Education in the New Japan*, vol. II, p. 260–61.

[59] On one of John Dewey's visits to Japan (1919), he gave the lectures later published as *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1920, 224 p.). The Dewey visit directly influenced the program of such schools as Jiyu Gakuen (Freedom School) and indirectly influenced the primary schools attached to the Nagano and to the Chiba Teachers College, and to the Nara Higher Normal School for Women. See: *Yomiuri Shimbun*, May 18, 1955.

[60] Daishiro Hidaka, The Aftermath of Educational Reform, *Annals of the American Association of Political and Social Science*, 308: 148, November 1956.

Among those who had their education in prewar days and who studied beyond the minimum compulsory years, there is some nostalgia for the good old days and some tendency to depreciate modern schooling. Their sons and daughters who received their education in postwar days do not necessarily share this sentiment. They have been exposed to different schooling. Respect for the individual, equal opportunity, and civil liberties have become value terms for many of the younger generation of Japanese teachers, including those who accepted ideals of democratic reeducation discussed in the numerous workshops, institutes, and inservice training sessions of the previous epoch.

In January 1956, Minister of Education Ichiro Kiyose openly opposed the philosophy underlying the Fundamental Law of Education. He called for its amendment, because, he argued, it lacked national consciousness, and disregarded the idea of filial piety.[61] According to these men and their followers, the Constitution and the Fundamental Law of Education are too individualistic; they wish to amend them so as to revive group values and a feeling of responsibility. Of particular concern to them is their belief that the new education fails to teach love of country. In 1957, Minister of Education To Matsunaga, determined to make love of country and the teaching of morals his prime goal, commented:

> Above all shushin education and then history to show the footsteps of our forebears . . .
>
> It is necessary to hammer morality, national spirit, and to put it more clearly, patriotism, into the heads of our younger generations.[62]

In addition, democratic value terms have been the basis for textbooks for a decade or more. Most students, therefore, have studied democracy. Though they may misinterpret its meaning—the danger is there since the communists have appropriated many of its terms—they have enjoyed greater freedom as a result of democratic reforms in education, and students and teachers form pressure groups to hold to these reforms. Daishiro Hidaka, of International Christian University of Mitaka, Tokyo, says in this respect:

> The pre-war education of Japan taught patriotism and reverence for the Emperor, but failed to develop personality or teach citizenship. The new education neglects patriotism to some extent, but does develop personality and teach responsible citizenship. The Fundamental Law of Education which expresses the policy of the new education, is an accurate statement of the ideals of the new Japan. The conservatives say it is not congenial to Japanese historical experience or tradition, but the young people really *have* experienced the values of the Fundamental Law of Education. Young

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[61] Didaka, loc. cit.

[62] *Japan Times*, July 20, 1957.

> women especially, have been emancipated. Japan went through a bloodless revolution during the occupation, and the new value system coincides with the new statement of principles . . . The old people regard the defeat and occupation as an extremely miserable experience, but some of the young people look on it as necessary to have accomplished the revolutionary emancipation.[63]

Resistance to a reverse course in educational philosophy comes from several groups including the Japan Teachers Union, the Federation of Student Self-Government Associations, various newspapers, and individuals. They hold that the educational reform of the Occupation period was one of the most significant legacies of that time and that the democratic pattern of education should not be abandoned.[64] In fact, the democratic reforms, many claim, are now "Japanese reforms."

In this self-directive epoch of recent Japanese educational history, the philosophy of liberal democracy which dominated the Occupation epoch, exists in practically all groups. Most accept the major principles of democratic education—equal educational opportunity, community participation in the development of school policy, academic freedom, and concern for the individual. The new Constitution and basic laws have not been changed, with the major exception of recentralization of educational control in the hands of the Ministry of Education under the 1956 revision of the School Board Law.[65]

The educational philosophy and policy of Japan as they stand today are not authoritarian nor are they exactly as they were in the Occupation epoch. The broad general language of the Fundamental Law of Education remains to be spelled out in more specific terms. Reaching a meeting of minds on how to spell out laws is a task which faces leaders in countries around the world.

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[63] Author's interview with Dean Hidaka, Mitaka, Tokyo, Japan, May 22, 1957.

[64] Albert R. Brinkman, Teacher Status in Japanese Schools, *Harvard Educational Review*, 24: 186, Summer, 1954.

[65] Kokkai Junpo [10-day Reports, National Diet] (Tokyo, June 15, 1956), p. 47–8.

CHAPTER II

Educational Opportunity

> The people shall all be given equal opportunities of receiving education according to their ability, and they shall not be subject to educational discrimination on account of race, creed, sex, social status, economic position of [or] family origin . . . (Article 3, Fundamental Law of Education, 1947.[1])

Is education for the elite or for the entire population? Does it provide for women, children of the poor, children of minority groups? Is a person's ability the only limitation on the amount of education he will get? These are some of the tests of the extent of educational opportunity. Let us see how Japan has approached the question of educational opportunity.

Initial Modernization Epoch

To rear a nation of individuals who would have technical knowledge to man essential jobs and to promote loyalty to the Emperor-State, the Meiji leaders decided to construct a universal, free public school system. The first code entitled "Education System of 1872" said:

> It is intended that henceforth universally (without any discrimination of class or sex) in a village there shall be no house without learning, and in a house no individual without learning.[2]

The code provided for 4 years of compulsory education for all boys and girls—a striking innovation. A year later, despite the resistance of some communities to the plans of the Government, David Murray found "profound . . . interest in the cause of education among all classes of society and so earnest a determination on

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[1] Ministry of Education, *Educational Laws and Regulations in Japan: The Constitution of Japan* [and] *The Fundamental Law of Education* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1955), Series 1. p. 10.

[2] Baron Dairoku Kikuchi, *Japanese Education* (London, John Murray Co., 1909), p. 69.

Photo by Makoto Kanno

Elementary school: 1890—Matsushiro, Nagano Prefecture.

the part of the Government to employ every means for its promotion."[3] There were obstacles, however, and in the decentralization of 1879 the compulsory education level fell to 16 months. When the Government picked up the reigns again (1880), the period of compulsory education was fixed at 3 years. In the reform of 1886 it was raised to 4 years; in 1908 it was increased to 6, where it remained until 1941 when the Government was considering plans to advance it officially to 8 years. Though not required as a part of the compulsory schooling, around 67 percent of the children voluntarily went on to higher primary school for a total of 8 to 9 years of formal education.

While many countries were having difficulty enforcing school attendance, the Japanese public saw the importance of education. The sense of obligation among parents became so strong that the number of children receiving elementary education rose rapidly from 25 percent in 1871 to 35 percent in 1875, 46 percent in 1886, 61 percent in 1896, 95 percent in 1906, and to 99.8 percent in 1944.[4] At the compulsory level, then, most Japanese children were in school, and there was opportunity for all economic and social classes to go to school. As in other countries, there were differences in the quality of schools and the wealthier could send their children to those they considered to be preferred schools.[5]

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[3] [Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education.] *Education in Japan* (Circulars of the Bureau of Education, Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1875), p. 141. (No. 2—1875.)

The almost universal use of the school uniform tended to bridge the social gap between rich and poor. In morals courses, some instruction was aimed at a leveling of social classes. In fact, the expanding capitalistic economy allowed considerable mobility up the line into managerial and official positions.

At the end of the 6-year elementary school, decision was made as to the educational track the child would follow—the academic leading to the university or some other track. Once this choice was made, there was little opportunity to change to another track. As he went up the school ladder in his particular track, the child's opportunity to change narrowed further. Secondary schools and schools above that level charged tuition. Schooling was expensive, and usually the few who could afford it were the ones who could go on without too much difficulty. Higher education usually was the privilege of the elite. For the poor but bright there was a struggle—not uncommon in other countries. It was alleviated somewhat by the existence of numerous aid funds provided by the Government. Of greater assistance was the tradition of personal benevolence in education matters. Sometimes a boy's advanced education would be subsidized by former teachers and by friends.

The patronage system which led a feudal lord (daimyo) to provide for the education of his retainers' children has survived to the present. A wealthy landowner in a community will assume responsibility for the schooling of promising local sons of the poor, in some instances putting as many as 100 students through the university. The institution of adoption and marriage (yoshi), whereby a young man was adopted into the home of his bride and succeeded to the headship of her house, was another means by which native ability might have an opportunity to be developed. In summary, there was a single track at the elementary or compulsory level only. In general, beyond that level the sons of wealthier families and a few poor boys whose education was subsidized were able to get the training leading to the university and the positions deemed to be choice.

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[4] G. B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), p. 460, and Robert King Hall, *Education for a New Japan*, p. 333. In this connection Hall points out that it is doubtful whether any other Nation in the war year 1944 could claim an equal figure.

[5] The attached primary school to the normal school was often considered superior to ordinary elementary schools; parents tried to enroll their children in such an institution.

Five Educational Tracks

The new national school system was meant to be a single track with the youth of the country climbing the same school ladder. In the 1880's, with the adoption of European-type secondary schools and universities, a multiple system began to evolve which consisted of five separate tracks. Chart II on page 37 shows the prewar organization of the Japanese school system as of the "normal year" 1937.

1. *Academic track for boys.*—The academic track was highest in public esteem. The quality of education, especially at the higher level, was to be maintained by restricting it to a small and select group—an elite. It consisted of a 6–5–3–3 ladder, leading from the regular 6-year elementary school to the preferred 5-year middle school (chu gakko),[6] to the selective 3-year higher school (koto gakko), to the 3-year university (daigaku). Entrance examinations at each level after the first were a barrier. About 10 percent of the graduates of elementary school were able to enter the academic track by passing the examination to the Government middle school. At least 1 middle school was found in each Prefecture. This lower secondary school for boys (mostly from towns and cities, with a sprinkling of farmers' sons) was preparatory for the next level—the higher school. The middle school program was a terminal course for about 72 percent of the students. The curriculum did not take this fact into account, since it was academic, while most of the graduates became clerks or went into small businesses. Others went on to higher school or broke out of the track and went to normal or technical school.

The Government higher schools, of which there were 32, were preparatory to the university, providing pre-professional training and some general education. About 1 out of 7 candidates sitting for the higher school examination was able to pass, and about 7.7 percent of the middle school graduates were accepted. The Government policy was one of restricting entrance into higher school by quota so as to keep down the number going on to the university and swelling the ranks of the white-collar unemployed.

If they succeeded and had the means to go on, higher school graduates went on to 1 of the 9 Imperial universities (including

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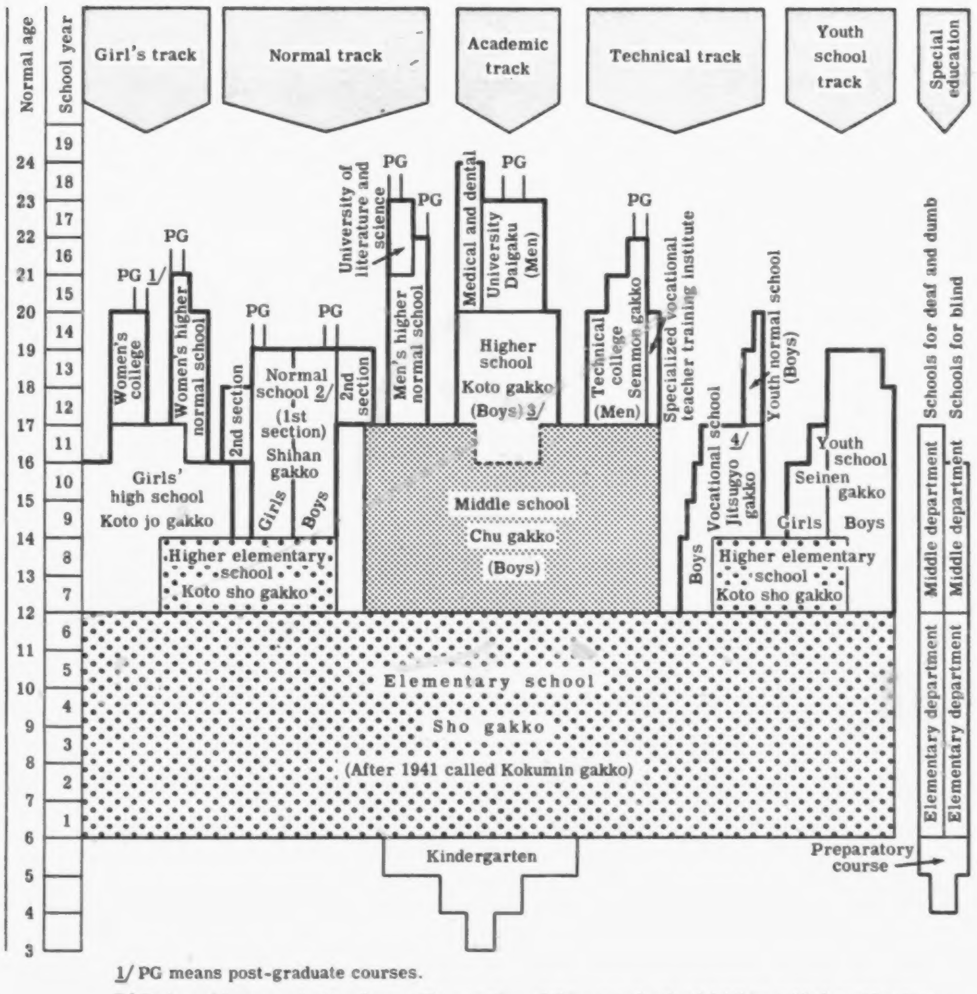
[6] Better students often were admitted to the higher school after 4 years of middle school.

Chart II.—Prewar multiple track Japanese school system


Normal age
School year
Girl's track
Normal track
Academic track
Technical track
Youth school track
Special education
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2
1
PG 1/
PG
Women's college
Women's higher normal school
Girls' high school
Koto jo gakko
2nd section
PG
PG
Normal school 2/ (1st section)
Shihan gakko
Girls
Boys
2nd section
Higher elementary school
Koto sho gakko
University of literature and science
PG
PG
Men's higher normal school
Medical and dental
PG
University Daigaku (Men)
Higher school
Koto gakko
(Boys) 3/
Middle school
Chu gakko
(Boys)
PG
Technical college
Semmon gakko
(Men)
Specialized vocational teacher training institute
Vocational school
4/
Jitsugyo gakko
Boys
Youth normal school (Boys)
Youth school
Seinen gakko
Girls
Boys
Higher elementary school
Koto sho gakko
Schools for deaf and dumb
Schools for blind
Middle department
Middle department
Elementary department
Elementary department
Elementary school
Sho gakko
(After 1941 called Kokumin gakko)
Kindergarten
Preparatory course

1/ PG means post-graduate courses.

2/ Girls and boys graduating from either section of the normal school (shihan gakko) could enter their respective higher normal schools.

3/ Upon completion of the 4th year of middle school, students could take the entrance examination for the higher school and, if successful, finish the latter in 3 years. Such students might graduate from the university at the end of their 16th school year.

4/ Graduates of the vocational school could enter the technical college.

1 each in Korea and Formosa) or to 1 of the 12 less-esteemed single-faculty Government universities, or 1 of the 25 private universities. Though the more ambitious tried for the Tokyo Imperial University as the key to a Government position, so difficult was the entrance examination that many were unable to win a place. These studied on their own and tried again, went to another university, or took positions. The total enrollment of universities was limited in 1938 to just under 73,000—almost entirely men. About one-half of 1 percent of the children who had entered elementary school completed

the university course. Though the universities produced research and scholarship of a higher order, they were accused by some Japanese of "exclusiveness, unfriendliness and impracticality."[7]

2. *Girls' track.*—In Confucian-oriented Japan, the first major divergence from the single track was separate and different education for girls. From the third year of elementary school the curriculum differed for girls. They were almost completely barred from the higher rungs of the ladder, though a few (210 in 1937) were admitted to some of the Imperial universities. Girls desiring more than an elementary education went on to 4- or 5-year girls' high schools (koto jo gakko).[8] These were attended by about 8 percent of the graduates of elementary school. Most of these girls were daughters of middle and upper class city and town families and of the wealthier farm families. Curriculum emphasis was on the cultivation of national morality and womanly virtue.

While the boys went from a middle school to higher school, the girls had no middle school. Their school was called a high school and was expected to be terminal. In these girls' schools equipment was often poorer, libraries were smaller, textbooks were simpler, and instruction was considered to be less thorough. They had fewer hours of the basic subjects (National language, science, mathematics, history, and geography) and specialized in the finishing school type of subject (sewing, music, dancing, flower-arrangement, and tea ceremony) as prerequisite to marriage. Girls who were serious in their academic purposes were not always satisfied. For them, the Government established 3 higher normal schools. For further study the girls went to the 60 private girls' colleges, often missionary-founded, for a liberal arts training stressing language and literature. Some of these institutions offered homemaking. Usually 3-year institutions, they were roughly equivalent to the boys' higher school. This was the highest level normally open to women in Japan.

In general, it was believed that girls had little need or desire for academic training—their roles were to be good wives and mothers. In the rising nationalist period, the additional purpose of making them loyal patriots and skilled war workers was recognized. This purpose was to be achieved primarily through youth school training. A scant 6 percent went beyond girls' high school.

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[7] Kaitakusha, May 1949, as translated in: Allied Translator and Interpreter Section, *Higher Education and Its Administration.* (Publications Analysis No. 265. [Tokyo], GHQ, SCAP, May 24, 1949), p. 1.

[8] Graduates of the higher elementary school were sometimes allowed to complete girls' high school in 3 years. If a girl wanted more than the 4 or 5 years, she sometimes could get a postgraduate course of 2 to 3 years in a specialized subject.

3. *Normal school track.*—A separate track was devoted to teacher training. The Government placed reliance on teachers to indoctrinate the Nation's youth in nationalism, and it took particular pains in their education. It paid their expenses and exacted a period of service in return (10 years for male normal school graduates and 5 years for females) according to the regulations established by Mori in 1886.[9] Later the required service was reduced to 4½ years for both men and women. The normal school track itself was divided into 5 types of institutions as of 1937:

> First, the ordinary normal school (shihan gakko) for training elementary teachers—at least 1 school to a Prefecture—included a 1st or "A" section of 5 years in length entered on graduation from the higher elementary school and a 2d or "B" section of 2 years in length entered on graduation from middle or girls' high school.
>
> Second, the youth normal school (seinen shihan gakko) specialized in training teachers for the youth schools, especially in vocational subjects. It was a 2-year institution and enrolled graduates of vocational, middle, girls' high, and normal schools who had completed at least 11 years of education or its equivalent.
>
> Third, the higher normal school (koto shihan gakko) was a more advanced institution offering a 4-year course for normal, middle, or girls' high school graduates to prepare them for teaching in ordinary normal, middle, girls' high, and vocational schools. There were separate institutions for men and women.
>
> Fourth, the two national universities of literature and science (bunrika daigaku) at Tokyo and Hiroshima were graduate schools affiliated with local higher normal schools from which most of their students were drawn. Their aim was to promote research and advanced study in the arts and sciences and in education and to prepare teachers for middle schools.
>
> Fifth, the specialized teacher training institute (kyoin yoseijo) offered a 3-year course for middle school graduates in technical subjects such as agriculture and prepared teachers primarily for vocational schools. The institutes were attached to Government universities and technical colleges.

Most of the teachers at the higher school and university level were graduates of the Imperial universities without professional training in teaching. There was no particular discrimination against normal schools for teacher trainees—only a feeling that teachers in the lower schools occupied a sensitive position in relation to the general public which called for specialized preparation while those preparing for teaching institutions of higher learning did not need the same type of preparation. From 1886 on, normal school students were given military training and indoctrination in loyalty and patriotism. They were required to live in dormitories under strict supervision. If they transferred to the academic ladder, they usually had to drop back 2 years and start higher school from the beginning; they were not to enter the university directly.

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[9] Department of Education, *Ordinances, Notifications, and Instructions Relating to Education* (Tokyo, the Department, [1887], p. 63 and 85–86.

4. *Technical school track.*—Despite pressure for technical education to help in modernizing the country, Japan had inherited an attitude that common labor—which dirtied the hands—was demeaning. The lower classes were responsible for doing the drudgery. Consequently, technical and vocational education held lower status. At the secondary level, vocational and technical education consisted of a 5-year vocational school (jitsugyo gakko) for the training of middle-grade technicians. The schools were designated as agricultural, commercial, industrial, fisheries, colonization, and miscellaneous. These trade schools offered little in liberal arts. They accommodated about 10 percent of the elementary school graduates.

At the higher level, the technical institute (semmon gakko) was a 3- to 5-year single-department college preparing skilled technicians for business, industry, and government. They were not ranked as universities. The majority of the 300 prewar technical institutes were colleges of industry or of commerce. Others, counting as many as a dozen each, were colleges of agriculture, fisheries, medicine,[10] and pharmacy. There were also a few in music, art, textiles, foreign languages, theology, and physical education at this level. These institutes provided opportunity for higher technical and semiprofessional education to 3 or 4 times the number of students who attended the universities. To many of these youth the academic ladder was not readily accessible.

5. *Youth school track.*—The fifth track was that of the youth schools (seinen gakko). Created in 1935 to serve the needs of the State, they provided a 2- to 7-year part-time or full-time continuation education for laboring youth who had finished the elementary school and otherwise did not have the opportunity to go further. In 1941, this group and those attending higher primary school constituted about 75 percent of the Nation's young people between the ages of 13 and 15.[11] The Government appropriated a considerable budget to provide them with a practical form of vocational training, hoping thereby to increase the Nation's agricultural and industrial productivity and to provide pre-induction military training.

Teachers—preferably graduates of the vocational school—were trained in youth normal schools set up by cities and Prefectures to provide this vocational training and teach the national virtues. Morals and civics were stressed for both boys and girls, military training for boys (about a third of the school week), and home economics and sewing for girls.

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[10] The U. S. Education Mission recommended that these medical institutes be required to meet certain minimum standards or be discontinued. See *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan* (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 59. (Department of State Publication 2579, Far Eastern Series 11.).

[11] Masunori Hiratsuka, Some Important Moments in the History of Modern Japanese Education. *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Comparative Education and Culture*, 1: 99, March 1957. (English edition, Faculty of Education, Kyushu University.)

During the war years the youth schools were devoted almost exclusively to military ends and were inspected by subordinate army officers. Some were practically converted into war factories. Some 15,000 were scattered throughout the country and primarily in rural sections. From April 1939 on, the Government made attendance compulsory for boys up to the age of 19 who had not attended middle school. It was not compulsory for girls though many attended. Youth schools were "class schools" for the lower socioeconomic groups. They served the majority of the Nation's youth.

Table 1 presents the school careers available to academic and technical students while table 2 presents similar information for others on the nonacademic ladder.

The five tracks from the favored academic to the youth school track afforded widely differing opportunities depending on sex, residence, wealth, and other factors. The system afforded academic

Table 1.—Possible school careers for academic and technical students in Japan: Prewar years

Type of track	Years in school career	Type of ladder	Sequence of schools
Normal[1]	13	6-2-5	6-year elementary. 2-year higher elementary. 5-year normal (1st section).
Normal	13	6-5-2	6-year elementary. 5-year girls' high. 2-year normal (2d section) or 2-year youth normal.
Technical or normal	14	6-5-3	6-year elementary. 5-year middle or girls' high. 3-year technical or normal or youth normal.
Technical or normal	15	6-5-4	6-year elementary. 5-year middle or girls' high. 4-year higher technical or higher normal.
Academic[2]	16	6-4-3-3	6-year elementary. 4-year middle. 3-year higher. 3-year university.
Academic	17	6-5-3-3	6-year elementary. 5-year middle. 3-year higher. 3-year university.
Academic	19-22	6-5-3-3-2 to 5	6-year elementary. 5-year middle. 3-year higher. 3-year university. 2 to 5 year graduate school.

[1] Teacher trainees entered the 13-, 14-, or 15-year careers; those planning to go into trades and agriculture entered the 14- or 15-year careers.

[2] Students going on to the university followed the 17-year plan, except when they passed the higher school entrance examination at the end of the 4th year of middle school, in which case their school career was 16 years.

Table 2.—Possible school careers for nonacademic pupils in Japan: Prewar years

Type of Ladder	Sequence of schools
6	6-year elementary, compulsory by law.
6–2	6-year elementary and 2-year higher elementary.
6–4	6-year elementary and 4-year youth school.
6–5	6-year elementary and 5-year middle school for boys' or girls' high school.
6–2–3	6-year elementary, 2-year higher elementary and 3-year youth school or 3-year vocational school.

education for the more privileged few but other types of education for the majority; a "remnant," says the Ministry history, "of the class distinctions of the Edo Period."[12] On the secondary level, boys' middle schools, girls' high schools, vocational schools, and youth schools had distinct curriculums without structural or curricular relation with any other type of school at the secondary level. Thus the multiple track system of prewar days proved discriminatory to large groups including women, those interested in trades or vocations, and those at lower socio-economic levels.

First Schools

Besides the multiple track system, a second factor affecting educational opportunity was the rating of schools within any single type such as Government or private. The oldest schools, especially the ones at the Capital, were considered to hold the highest position. Tokyo Imperial University (now called Tokyo University) was the first public institution of higher learning founded in Japan (1877). It trained civil servants for the early Meiji Government and continues to serve as preparatory to Government work. Its graduates staffed executive and judicial posts, leaving primarily the legislative branch open to graduates of other universities. They rose to positions of leadership in Japan. As alumni of Tokyo Imperial University, they were members of an exclusive club wherever they went in Government or industry. The "old school tie" feeling was strong, and graduates brought schoolmates or alumni into their organizations as openings permitted. With Tokyo Imperial graduates gaining a near monopoly on positions in most ministries, including the Ministry of Education,[13] a group of graduates of Tokyo Imperial University and a few of the other early institutions known as the academic clique (gakubatsu) exercised influence on the Nation's Government and its schools. Similar "cliques" developed, composed of graduates of Kyoto University and the private institutions, Waseda and Keio, each with something of a monopoly on positions in certain fields.

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[12] Translation from: Mombusho, *Gakusei Hachijunen Shi* (Tokyo, Mombusho, Showa 29), 520. [Ministry of Education. Eighty Year History of the Educational System. Tokyo, the Ministry, 1954. p. 520.] The Edo Period (1603–1868) was the last period of feudalism before the Restoration.

[13] In 1935 Tokyo Imperial University reportedly supplied 89 percent of the 99 appointments in the career civil service. See: John D. Montgomery, *Forced to be Free: The Artificial Revolution in Germany and Japan* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 84.

The earliest secondary schools also were accorded high prestige. The First Middle School and First Higher School in Tokyo attracted students preparing for admission to Tokyo Imperial University. Middle and higher schools provided an environment for the establishment of friendships which often remained throughout life. These close personal ties plus the ties of loyalty to their alma mater helped build an *esprit de corps.* Graduates of Tokyo First Higher School reportedly were given unofficial priority over those from other higher schools for entrance to Tokyo Imperial University; graduates of the Third Higher School in Kyoto reportedly were favored in entering nearby Kyoto Imperial. Such schools came to regard their role as that of preparation for the university. The most exclusive group—the "inner circle"—were products of the 3 "first" institutions: Tokyo First Middle School, Tokyo First Higher School, and Tokyo Imperial University. Graduates of the other 8 Imperial universities had status primarily in their own regions. If judged by the number employed without taking into account differences in goals of the institutions from which they graduated, they had less opportunity to be employed in the central Government.

When a chain of higher schools was founded, they, too, were ranked in the hierarchy of higher schools with the oldest generally being the most highly esteemed. The higher schools though did not necessarily feed into the nearest of the regionally distributed Imperial universities. Their graduates were ambitious to get into Tokyo Imperial University. As second choice, they would go to one of the other eight Imperial universities. The reason was obvious—in normal times the most desirable appointments in Government and business tended to go to Tokyo Imperial graduates and a few graduates from such institutions as Kyoto University and Tokyo Higher Commercial School; in times of depression, it was considered a practical necessity to be a graduate of the preferred schools to get a position in Government or in the larger business firms. Certain key posts in the civil service and in teaching were barred to all except Imperial university graduates—a cause of discontent among graduates of the private universities.[14]

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[14] Hugh Ll. Keenleyside and A. F. Thomas, *History of Japanese Education and Present Educational System* (Tokyo, Hokuseido Press, 1937), p. 208.

Among girls' schools at the high school level there was a hierarchy. The local First Girls' High School normally held higher prestige than its successors, and a girl who would make a "good" marriage seemed to need the recommendation of graduation from such a school. Local middle schools likewise tended to be either preferred or not preferred, and accounts indicate that parents sometimes sent their youngsters long distances by train each day to give them the advantage of a first school. There was no districting of schools at the secondary level.

Entrance Examinations

Given the demand for admission to the favored schools, entrance examinations were devised to select those deemed most capable. Year after year the pressure of numbers presenting themselves to the first middle schools, higher schools, and universities caused the examinations to be made so hard that students came to refer to the experience facing them as "examination hell" (shiken jigoku).

The emphasis on examinations affected both the youth and the whole educational system. For the youth, cramming was often such an ordeal that it resulted in injury to health or nervous breakdown, endemic among students; or occasionally, when a candidate failed, there was suicide. For the system, the emphasis on examinations diverted the goals of schools at all pre-university levels to that of preparing their students for entrance examinations for the next higher level. The last year of each school, from the elementary school up, tended to concentrate on such preparation. Teachers and schools tended to be judged on the basis of the number of their graduates who passed.

Often study focused on the published collection of former examination questions. The premium tended to be on rote memorization. And the examination system itself could corrupt the schools by encouraging "back door operations" by which parents might be tempted to use bribes and pressure to get their children over the obstacle of the entrance examination. The competitive entrance examination was considered the effective way to cut down on entrants; it flourished until 1945. The educational careers of many able students could be cut short by failure in examinations.

Though most of the Nation's children had opportunity to get an elementary education, and though Japan was an education-conscious nation, there were areas of educational inequality—as there are in most countries—which limited the development of the full potential of all her people.

2

Wartime Epoch

Actually, from the time of the Manchurian Incident of 1931 through World War II, educational interests were increasingly subordinated to those of a Nation at war, and educational opportunities were accordingly retrenched. With the burgeoning demands of the military, it became more and more difficult to get an adequate proportion of the national budget allocated to educational needs. At the level of the individual school, local funds in the hands of individuals were diverted to savings bonds or to providing comfort kits for the soldiers departing overseas. Universities in the mid-1930's cancelled their subscriptions to international journals thus cutting themselves off from scholarly developments overseas. It was increasingly difficult for them to buy foreign books for their libraries.

As the Nation turned to an all-out mobilization of energies and resources for the war in the Pacific, schooling was inevitably restricted. The middle school course was reduced from 5 years to 4 and the higher school course from 3 to 2. University students who were exempted from compulsory military training were forced into warplants, especially shipbuilding, until many universities were practically devoid of students, except for certain essential researchers.

Student mobilization for war industry got under way late, but by 1942, when munition workers were being drafted, the Government had begun to look to students as the best source for replacement. It planned to draft about 53,000 students for this purpose. At first the Ministry ruled that no student could work more than 30 consecutive days, but this was found to be too short, and early in 1944 restriction on the length of work was completely lifted. Up to July 1944 the modicum of 6 hours a week of academic instruction was insisted upon, either during one full day at school or in part-time instruction on the job. After that date, formal instruction was abandoned for the most part, except for haphazard classes before and after work or on holidays. The authorities discovered that students worked better under the direction of their teachers, so teachers were assigned to factories with their classes. Since the wages were lower than those of regular workers and were usually paid through the school authorities, who deducted fees and insisted upon forced savings from the remainder, student morale was low. The leading sects were pressed into service to train priests for guidance services to youth in factories, to help boost morale and prevent "dangerous thought."

In some cases, the schools were turned into factories. This was true of girls higher schools which were equipped to make uniforms and technical schools which could make or assemble parts of airplanes and radios. In many cases where the school was not taken over for a war plant, it was requisitioned for use as a warehouse, hospital, or barracks for recruits. Some 3,000 were destroyed in the bombings.

By October 1944 about 2 million youth were at war work, or 40 percent of those old enough to work. The number was increased until a month before the end of the war 3½ million were working, but their energies were now diverted from war work to civil defense and earthwork construction for the anticipated invasion. Towards the end, children were evacuated from the major cities to remote rural districts. The education of 16 million children and youth came to a standstill.

Democratization Epoch

The Early Period

Equal educational opportunity was one of the ideals underlying the recommended changes in the Occupation period. It was stated in the first SCAP Directive on Administration of the Educational System of Japan[15] and in the report of the first U. S. Education Mission,[16] and was incorporated by the Japanese in their Constitution[17] and in their basic education laws.[18]

The Japanese proceeded with their implementation of this ideal in a variety of ways, including: (1) Consolidation of the five educational tracks into a single track common to all, (2) development of comprehensive upper secondary schools, (3) districting of lower and upper secondary schools, (4) initiation of part-time and extension or correspondence education at the secondary and higher levels, (5) provision of coeducation at all levels, (6) extension of the number of national universities to provide at least 1 in each Prefecture to make higher education more accessible, and (7) provision of 2- or 3-year junior colleges throughout Japan to provide training at the semiprofessional level.

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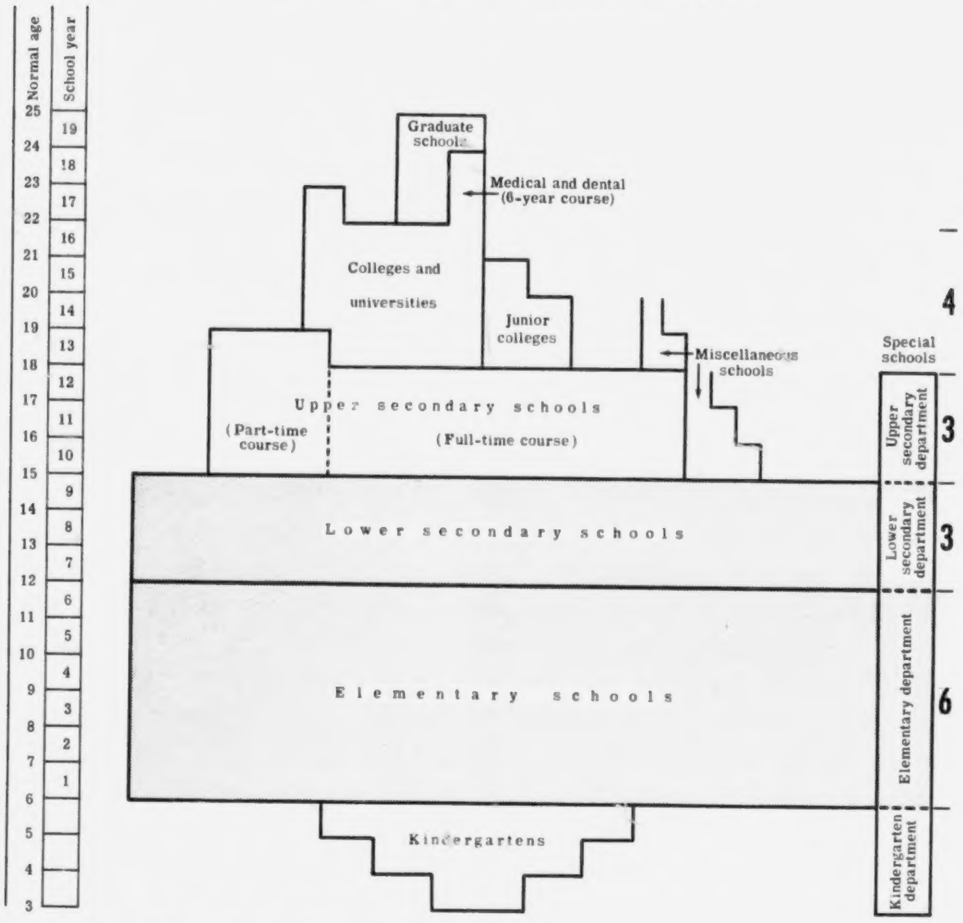
[15] SCAP, CIE, *Education in the New Japan* (Tokyo, GHQ, 1948), vol. II, p. 27.

[16] *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan*, p. 19.

[17] *The Constitution of Japan: Effective May 3, 1947* (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947), Article 26, p. 4. (Department of State Publication 2836. Far Eastern Series 22.)

[18] SCAP, CIE, op. cit., vol. II, p. 109.

Chart III.—Post-war single track Japanese school system [1]


Normal age
School year
Graduate schools
Medical and dental (6-year course)
Colleges and universities
Junior colleges
Miscellaneous schools
Upper secondary schools
(Part-time course)
(Full-time course)
Lower secondary schools
Elementary schools
Kindergartens
Special schools
Upper secondary department
Lower secondary department
Elementary department
Kindergarten department
4
3
3
6

[1] Adapted from: Ministry of Education. Education in Japan, Graphic Presentation: 1957. Tokyo, the Ministry, 1957. p. 40. (Title supplied).

Single-track education.—JERC promoted, the Ministry of Education drafted, and the Diet passed the School Education Law inaugurating a single-track system with a 6–3–3–4 ladder. Chart III, above, illustrates the new system. The first 2 levels (elementary and lower secondary) were compulsory, raising the number of compulsory years from 6 to 9 or a 50 percent increase in length of required schooling. These 2 schools were to be open to all and would offer free schooling. They would require no entrance examination, and, for a time, examinations for entrance to the upper secondary school were eliminated to reduce the obstacles to the continuation of a person's schooling.

Structurally independent specialized secondary schools with distinct curriculums—such as boys' middle, girls' high, youth, and diverse types of vocational schools—now were merged into a common system for all. Existing plants were used, often with the former staffs; but purposes and names of the schools were new. Former middle schools wanted to upgrade themselves to be the new upper secondary schools (hereafter to be referred to as USS), and former higher schools aspired to be universities. Most of them were thus upgraded and became higher level institutions.

The major problem was to accommodate over a million new pupils in the compulsory lower secondary schools (hereafter called LSS). These were the sole schools between the elementary schools and the USS and thus represented an essential segment in terms of equal educational opportunity. A minimum of 76,000 new classrooms was required. Though not without protest, some old-system middle schools were persuaded to turn their plants over to LSS rather than USS; other LSS were developed from former higher primary schools and youth schools, or squeezed into already crowded elementary school plants which forced the schools into multiple sessions. The rest had to be built at a time of great financial stringency during the years 1947–49, when Japan had not recovered from the economic impact of war.

LSS had to compete for funds with homes, hospitals, and with other Government buildings. In the first year (1947) half the budget for executing the 6–3–3 system was granted by the Government. In 1948 as adequate a sum as seemed possible was provided for construction; but in the third year of the program the item was cut out of the budget entirely. As a result of appeals, a small supplemental budget resulted. A promise of 50 percent of the total construction costs of all LSS previously had been made by the Japanese Government on the strength of U. S. Education Mission recommendations. Then in order to balance the national budget in fiscal year 1949–50, appropriations from national funds specifically for school building construction were eliminated. The burden then reverted to the local communities.[19]

By dint of great community self-sacrifice, the LSS were built. Because of failure of aid to materialize, 177 mayors reportedly

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[19] The U. S. Interim Directive on Economic Stabilization in December 1948 and the assistance which SCAP received from the 6-man Financial Advisory Mission of February–May 1949 encouraged Japanese authorities to put through a balanced budget for the first time since 1930. As one cut in the interests of the austerity program, SCAP's Economic and Scientific Section recommended the elimination of LSS construction funds from the national budget while CIE pleaded the case for retention. From April to September 1949, the 7-man Tax Mission from the U. S. recommended an extensive reorganization of the taxation system in Japan, including abolition of national subsidies designated specifically for normal support of public elementary and secondary education and substituting a "general purpose national equalization grant" to Prefectures and municipalities. For the Japanese presentation of what was happening in their country, see: Ministry of Education, *Bricks Without Straw* (Tokyo, the Ministry, September 15, 1950), 69 p.

US Army photograph

Community cooperation builds a school in Nagano Prefecture: 1949.

resigned. Maintenance as well as construction of the schools cost money. Although an essential part of the compulsory system, the LSS were not completely public supported. Parents were called on by their PTA's to make voluntary contributions which in 1949–50 amounted to nearly 12 percent of the total expenditures for public LSS.[20]

The next problem was the staffing of schools with trained teachers. Expansion came at the time when the teaching body was being screened for militarism and ultranationalism. Approximately 25 percent of the teachers resigned to avoid risk of being screened out; there was a dearth of qualified teachers. New ones were recruited and given a 6-month training course to fill the gap. By the time the 3-year LSS system had become a reality in 1950, the schools were staffed, though not necessarily adequately staffed. Some of the elementary teachers had moved up to the LSS; 12 percent of the LSS teachers were uncertified. Almost all children of LSS age were in school; many attended part-time or in half-day sessions.

In spite of great handicaps in an immediate postwar period, the LSS—being new—found it easier to establish practices differing from those resulting from the university entrance examination system and developed an independent program for youth in the particular district. In doing so, it contributed to widening the avenue of educational opportunity.

Comprehensive upper secondary schools.—Under the new system one USS was created to replace the several types during prewar days. It was difficult to modify curriculums quickly so the former specialized schools (offering only academic work or agriculture or commerce) continued while all were required to offer the 38-unit minimum national curriculum with 85 units for graduation.[21] The Ministry recommended conversion (especially in rural areas) to the comprehensive type of curriculum which would offer work in the general education field for university preparation and in 1 or more vocational fields, in order to provide more educational opportunity.

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[20] SCAP, CIE, *Post-War Developments in Japanese Education* (Tokyo, GHQ, 1952), vol. I, p. 123.

Formerly in a particular region one town would be served by an agricultural high school, another by an industrial high school, while a third had only an academic high school. Youth in all three towns had to travel great distances by public transportation, generally trains, to get to desired schools. In the new system, Prefectures were urged to build comprehensive USS to meet the needs of youth in each community. Such schools offer in one plant a diversified curriculum with optional courses to satisfy the academic or the vocational student. It was recognized that separate specialized academic or vocational schools might suit needs better in certain urban situations since there would be several schools nearby from which pupils could choose. Therefore, the principle was established that the needs of the pupils should govern the type of the secondary school.

The pattern of development has varied in different Prefectures. In some, nearly all USS are of the comprehensive type; in others they are rare. A Ministry survey of the national situation in 1949 (a year after the establishment of the USS) revealed that 43 percent were comprehensive and 20 percent were single-type vocational —agricultural, industrial, commercial, fishery, and homemaking, in that order.[22] Frequently the comprehensive type had difficulty in providing vocational education because of the scattering of skilled teachers and of equipment from the former vocational schools. The result was a decline of interest in the vocational part of the program at that time, according to reports.

Districting of upper secondary schools.—In order to discourage the flocking of students to what might become preferred USS, the Prefectural School Board was authorized under the Board of Education Law to "divide the prefecture into several attendance districts . . . for the purpose of promoting propagation of and equalizing opportunity for upper secondary school education."[23]

Often against opposition by students and alumni of the former first or favored schools, the process of districting went on in many parts of Japan, with the encouragement of Military Government CIE officers. In September 1949, the districting system had been adopted by 36 of the 46 Prefectures, and the balance were considering it. As reported by the Ministry of Education in September 1950, districting helped equalize the quality of the schools; remove the emphasis on prestige hierarchy among schools; eliminate evils of the entrance examination; lighten the burden of transportation costs on parents; bring about closer relations between the PTA, the community as a whole, and the school; and facilitate liaison between lower levels of schooling so as to secure better continuity in the curriculums.[24] To help meet some of the problems, the Second U. S. Mission recommended that school districts be set up around a natural community which might include several villages, towns, and cities and that they be large enough in population and in tax resources to provide adequate facilities and service for the new educational system.[25]

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[21] Ibid., vol. I, p. 126.

[22] Walter C. Eells, Secondary Education in Japan, *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, 35 : 22, October 1951.

[23] SCAP, CIE, op. cit., vol. II, Article LIV, p. 241.

With pressure among youth to get into the best competitive position for work deemed most desirable, the old attitude of the favored school was revived. Applicants for entrance to the former first middle schools (now renamed and serving as USS) were more than could be accommodated in spite of efforts at districting. The USS began to demand entrance examinations at their own discretion. The Ministry of Education issued an intruction in 1951 allowing them to give achievement tests using the same questions and holding the tests on the same day in the Prefectures.[26] Restrictions on crossing district lines were relaxed in many cases; districting as a method of equalizing secondary school opportunity was not always easy to put into practice.

Part-time and correspondence education.—In an effort to equalize educational opportunities for working youth, the School Education Law provided for the establishment of part-time USS. Under the old system, part-time continuation education for such people was available only in the youth schools which were recognized as post-elementary but not as secondary schools. They were considered inadequate and were legally abolished in April 1948 and at that time part-time USS were started.[27]

For the first time part-time training was offered as part of the regular system, utilizing the same USS equipment, the same administration, and some of the same staff. Now the program provided some of the same courses as the regular day-time session, and for equal credit. It could be given at a time convenient to the takers—in the evenings, vacation periods, or during slack farming seasons. A student could enroll for the full course and complete it when he had taken 85 units of credit or he could take vocational training useful to him in his work and ignore the credit.

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[24] Ministry of Education, *Progress of Education Reform in Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1950), p. 31.

[25] *Report of the Second United States Education Mission to Japan* (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 4.

[26] Mombusho, *Gakusei Hachijunen Shi*, p. 543.

[27] SCAP, CIE, *Post-War Developments in Japanese Education*, vol. I, p. 128.

Full-time USS are limited to cities and larger towns. In order to serve the thousands of villages, branch part-time schools were founded. Some Prefectures established independent part-time USS. In others, where a full-time USS in a major town also offered a part-time course, branch schools were established in outlying towns and villages with the regular school as a center. They offered agricultural and home-making courses to from 100 to 200 farm or factory youth—boys and girls—near their work. These youth could complete the requirements necessary for graduation entirely by part-time attendance or they could alternate with some full-time attendance or correspondence work, or have a combination of all 3 types. Naturally, the part-time course required a longer period to cover the same ground as the full-time course—generally 4 years for a 3-year USS program. Otherwise the 2 courses were intended to be exactly alike in content and in quality of teaching.

As of 1952, part-time USS students constituted 22.6 percent of the total number of USS students. Until 1953, there was a gradual increase in the number of part-time USS; after that time, it sloped off.

Also under the authority of the School Education Law, correspondence courses at both the LSS and USS as well as the university level were planned to provide educational opportunity to demobilized soldiers and to those who could not afford the time to attend part-time schools or who were too remote from them. The system was inaugurated in April 1948. It was slow in starting because of time involved in the production of study materials and the cost of publication. In time, regular LSS and USS textbooks and special guidebooks were prepared or authorized by the Ministry for use as teaching materials. Guidance by mail was provided as well as occasional opportunities for face-to-face instruction. On completion of a subject, the student could take a final examination by mail and, if he passed, receive the same credit as if he had attended class in a regular secondary school.

Public universities, with little experience in extension education, did not step forward to take leadership in this field. The Ministry authorized extension education by correspondence to be given to degree and non-degree students as part of the regular university program in 6 private universities located in Tokyo: Hosei, Chuo, Keio, Nihon, Nihon Women's, and Tamagawa. Besides these, 8 other private agencies already engaged in specialized correspondence education in such fields as radio, engineering, electricity, English, and music, were approved and their offerings listed in the Ministry catalog which went to all prefectural boards of education and adult education organizations. In order to keep the quality equal to that of regular schooling, minimum standards were established by the University Accreditation Association in December 1947. Students received specially prepared texts, study-guides, and questions. Their papers were corrected and returned once a month. In 1949–50, special 6-week summer courses for correspondence students were held to give them a sample of college atmosphere and to provide opportunities for laboratory work. In 1949 these universities enrolled some 60,000 students. Since adequate government aid was not forthcoming, the enrollment fell off to a reported 13,972 in 1952.

By April 1949 the following policies were established to govern credit given in correspondence courses: (1) A maximum of 90 units of college and university credit could be taken by correspondence toward the 120 units required for graduation, (2) a maximum of 24 units of upper secondary credit could be taken by correspondence toward the 85 units required for graduation, and (3) for lower secondary correspondence courses certificates were to be given for each course completed and no examinations were to be given for entrance to USS in these subjects.

Correspondence education has been used to help elementary and secondary teachers meet requirements under the new certification laws. Courses in professional education subjects were developed and administered for 5 years by the National Education Research Institute, an organ attached to the Ministry. In 1950 it turned over its task to a committee of the Japan Teacher Education Association, which developed texts and guidebooks in 12 basic subjects in professional education. By January 1952, over 120,000 correspondence courses had been completed for credit by Japanese teachers. In 1950–51 the budget item for central compiling of courses was cut out, and the program was continued on a reduced scale by a voluntary organization. The administration of the correspondence courses for teachers was taken over by departments of education in the new national universities.

Coeducation.—One of the reforms during this period was the introduction of coeducation above the elementary level. In line with advice of the Education Mission equal educational opportunity was made available to Japanese women.

In the discussions of JERC, it was felt that coeducation should be effective through the lower secondary level; but the council added, "During the ages of 15 or 16 to 17 or 18 in the upper secondary school, when pupils' feelings are unstable, coeducation is optional."[28] So in the Fundamental Law of Education, where coeducation was authorized, it was made permissive rather than mandatory. Article V said: "Men and women shall esteem and cooperate with each other. Coeducation, therefore, shall be recognized in education."[29]

At the elementary level, it had been a reality though there were differences in treatment of boys and girls from the 3rd grade on. These differences now were to be eliminated and girls were to be taught the same subjects, from the same texts as were boys. At the LSS, coeducation was mandatory and was in effect by 1949—2 years after the law was passed.

At the USS level where coeducation was urged by the Ministry but made optional, its acceptance was slower and met with stiffer resistance. Traditional moral standards in Japan had kept boys and girls apart from the age of 7. The public, however, gradually came to "show approval of the results of coeducation."[30] By 1949, partly because of economies effected and partly because of growing acceptance, some 55 percent of Government USS were coeducational, and the percentage continued to rise.

Women generally were in favor of coeducation at all levels, while men tended to be against it. Above the LSS level, the general public was opposed to it. According to a newspaper public opinion poll taken April 5–6, 1952, about the time the Occupation period was ending, the results were as follows:[31]

Question:	What do you think of coeducation?	
	1. In elementary school?	
Answers:	In favor of it	76.8 percent
	Against it	9.1 percent
	Don't know	14.1 percent
	2. In lower secondary school?	
Answers:	In favor of it	44.0 percent
	Against it	38.7 percent
	Don't know	17.3 percent
	3. In upper secondary school?	
Answers:	In favor of it	26.9 percent
	Against it	53.4 percent
	Don't know	19.7 percent

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[28] Japanese Education Reform Council, *Education Reform in Japan: The Present Status and The Problems Involved* (Tokyo, the Council, 1950), p. 45.

[29] SCAP, CIE, Education in the New Japan, vol. II, p. 110.

[30] Ministry of Education, *Progress of Education Reform in Japan*, p. 25.

[31] *Yomiuri Shimbun*, April 24, 1952. Japanese public opinion polling follows techniques similar to those in use in the U. S. For comments on Japanese polls and their results, see: Herbert H. Hyman, World Surveys—the Japanese Angle, *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, 1: 20–21, June 1947.

Educational opportunity at the university level was opened to women by the reform in higher education. Thirty-four of the former women's colleges were recognized as universities exclusively for women while the rest of the almost 200 public and private universities were coeducational. If junior colleges are counted, there were about 100,000 women in college or approximately 3 out of every 100 women of college age. Actually the enrollment of women in the new national universities was relatively small—9 percent of the total enrollment in 1950—and in the former Imperial universities it was but slightly over 1 percent.[32]

Equality of educational opportunity for both sexes—now authorized in law—was in effect at the compulsory levels when the Peace Treaty became operative. Tradition and an economy which favors men over women when jobs are scarce have kept down the numbers of women in higher education.[33] Though the number of women in Government universities is small, women are appearing in increasing numbers.

Extension of higher education.—"In order to increase the opportunities for liberal education at higher levels, it would be desirable to liberalize to a considerable extent the curricula of the preparatory schools (Koto Gakko) leading to the universities, and those of the more specialized colleges (Semmon Gakko) so that a general college training would become more widely available . . . In addition to providing more colleges, it is proposed that more universities be established according to a considered plan." So advised the U. S. Education Mission.[34]

The system of higher education concentrating on academic training for those destined to become leaders with separate higher training for technicians, teachers, and women (See chart II on page 37) was reorganized into a single-track pattern similar to that of the 4-year college in the U. S. following 12 years of elementary and secondary education. The university might also offer graduate training for the M. A. and Ph. D. degrees. The latter programs were for specified times to replace the indefinite term graduate training of former times.

The university system of prewar days was developed by the Japanese on the German pattern and, like its counterpart, emphasized research. It was a place for high specialization.

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[32] SCAP, CIE, *Post-War Developments in Japanese Education*, vol. I, p. 329. [Tokyo and Kyoto Universities have discouraged the admission of women.]

[33] Recent statistics of the Women's and Minors' Bureau report that half the women graduates from higher educational institutions found jobs and that most of them were in teaching. See: Ministry of Labor, *Status of Women in Postwar Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1956), p. 9.

[34] *Report of the U. S. Education Mission to Japan*, p. 61.

There was an average of 8 independent national and public (Prefectural and municipal) colleges in each Prefecture, sometimes with duplication of courses and facilities. In many cases the plants were situated in the same city. For example, a men's normal school would be a short distance from the women's normal school. The Occupation authorities recommended administrative consolidation of these several institutions into 1 university to reduce overlapping and, by pooling their facilities, strengthen their offerings. The integration of the local normal school into this new university, it was hoped, would stimulate the normal school to raise standards and the level of teacher education.

Though 12 private universities, 5 of them colleges for women, were chartered as 4-year universities in 1948, the major shift for public institutions was carried out under the National School Establishment Law of May 1949,[35] which allowed 249 former higher institutions to consolidate to form 68 new-type national universities. The law reflected certain views worked out in JERC sessions:

1. There should be 1 national university in each of the 46 Prefectures, formed by a merger of all national higher institutions in the area.
2. Branches of the university could be located in other cities of the Prefecture.
3. General education and professional courses in teacher education must be offered by at least one faculty or division of each national university.
4. Youth normal schools were to be abolished and their facilities used by the new national universities.
5. In general, the name of the university should be that of the Prefecture unless local sentiment dictated otherwise.
6. The faculty should be recruited from persons recommended by the units which make up the university.

While the accreditation of the new universities was to be left up to a private accreditation association, no institution had the legal right to open its doors until it was officially chartered by the Ministry of Education. A special committee was set up by the Ministry to decide whether the prospective applicant had sufficient potentialities to be given the right of establishment. Since the economy had not yet recovered sufficiently to permit rebuilding of the universities or supplying them with facilities such as libraries and laboratories, the chartering committee took this fact into account in interpreting a school's potentialities.

Two-thirds of the universities were former technical institutes, some of which were little more advanced than secondary level. Almost 75 percent of the universities had not been of university status before. Suddenly, they became universities. They were given the title on condition that they would make appropriate changes within 2 to 5 years to meet the minimum standards set by the University Accreditation Association. The intention was to have the chartering committee inspect the campus within a year after the charter was granted to see if the conditions had been met, but small staffs and inadequate funds made such follow-up difficult.

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[35] For full text, see: SCAP, CIE, *Post-War Developments in Japanese Eduation*, vol. II, p. 59-84.

Decentralization of higher education was accomplished to a degree in the establishment of a national university in each of the 46 Prefectures. One-third of the new universities were in Tokyo; but for the first time, university education was now within reach of rural youth in their home Prefectures. The integration of normal schools and technical institutes into universities gave them opportunity to offer advanced training at a higher academic level. Discriminations on the basis of sex, social position, and preparatory school were, reduced; and selection was based more or less equally on 3 criteria: namely, an aptitude test, an achievement test, and an evaluation of the candidate's secondary school record. In 1950 Tokyo University contributed 45 percent of the 429 civil service appointees, compared to 89 percent in 1935.[36] As has been true in many other parts of the world since the war, Japanese students flocked to the universities in ever-increasing numbers; soon their total was over a half million or about 0.5 percent of the total population and roughly 7 percent of the youth of university age. Some 10 percent were women.

In order to widen opportunity for needy students, the Japan Scholarship Society, a quasi-Government organ, received increased funds from the national budget for scholarships. In 1947 when immediate postwar conditions made need particularly high, the society granted 3 times as many scholarships as before the war and the society's working funds were 8 times those of prewar days. By 1952, some 3 billion yen ($8.3 million) were granted in scholarships to 20 percent of the university students and 3 percent of USS students. In addition, the National Government subsidized the Student's Aid Association, which established a chain of welfare halls in university centers to provide housing for students and sponsored the organization of student employment offices throughout the country. A major unit was set up in the Ministry—called the Student Affairs Section—which coordinated and assisted in part-time employment, scholarship aid, student cooperatives, school industries, and other student relief measures.

The requirement of the new universities that each student take

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[36] John D. Montgomery, *Forced to be Free: The Artificial Revolution in Germany and Japan*, p. 85.

36 units of general education—12 each in the humanistic, social, and natural sciences—meant that the former specialization was reduced and that all students would have opportunity for liberal arts training, a new concept in university education in Japan.

Guidance of university students through student personnel services was becoming available at all institutions, personnel officers were being trained, and there seemed to be a general recognition of the need for student counseling in higher education. The individual student's welfare was increasingly a matter of national concern.

Provision for junior colleges.—While the university system was being reorganized, a demand for a 2-year, semiprofessional, junior college type of higher education arose. SCAP opposed Japanese organization of such institutions, fearing that such action might encourage multiple track education. Having no alternative, most of the 600 former higher schools, normal schools, and technical institutes merged with other secondary schools and some with universities to become new universities or tried as individual institutions to upgrade themselves to university level. No provision was made for semiprofessional education. Some 70 of the former private technical institutes found they could not qualify as universities and began to request junior college status. The situation was alleviated somewhat when, 2 years after the School Education Law was passed, SCAP policy was changed, as a result of a personal recommendation made by the Minister of Education, to provide for the introduction of the junior college system.

On advice of JERC, an amendment to the School Education Law was passed in May 1949 which permitted 2- or 3-year short-term universities (junior colleges) as a temporary system.

The new junior college offered both general education and technical education in agriculture, technology, commerce, or the like for men, and in homemaking, nursing, or social work for women. In order to provide opportunity to youth who wished to transfer to the university, as the old technical institute had not done, provision was made for a graduate of junior college to transfer without prejudice to the third year of the national university system.

In 1950, when the amendment took effect, 186 institutions applied to the University Chartering Committee for charters as junior colleges. Of these, 151 were approved just about a month before the opening of the school year, including 17 national, 41 prefectural and municipal, and 93 private. The majority (115) were coeducational; 11 were for women only; and 25, for men only.[37] Quotas established for entering students totaled about 20,000. Because the junior colleges were chartered so near the time when they were to accept students, the entering classes the first year came to but 63 percent of this figure.

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[37] Daishiro Hidaka, The Aftermath of Educational Reform, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 308: 146, November 1956.

Since most Japanese young women look toward marriage, they prefer a 2-year to a 4-year college—one close to home and providing homemaking education. More than half of the junior college students are women. In many cases the junior college has become primarily a women's college.[38] The second U. S. Education Mission recommended an expansion of the junior college system to meet the need for varied types of semiprofessional education in Japan.

Education for all.—In 1950, JERC, in preparation for the arrival of the Second U. S. Education Mission, took stock of the advances the Nation had made. It said:

> We have now achieved the setting up of a new framework for democratic education on the basis of the support of our people, who have sworn to follow the path of truth, freedom, and peace.
>
> There has been established a new six-three-three-four educational setup of a clear, simple character, under which education is obtainable equally by every individual . . .[39]

The Second U. S. Education Mission arrived in August 1950, and noted that the past 5 years had been significant ones and that Japan was "rapidly developing a democratic Nation."[40] Continuing problems affecting equal educational opportunity for all were reflected in recommendations of this Mission. Among others they included: (1) The "public elementary and lower secondary schools must be absolutely free to all the children of all the people" including free textbooks and materials, (2) the upper secondary school should be free to all who wish to attend, (3) the teacher education departments of universities should be better equipped and supported, and (4) the quality and content of the new universities should be developed.

Many scholars have pondered on the apparent turn to democracy in the attitudes of the Japanese toward education. Democratic reforms seem to have been accepted largely because they met long-standing needs and fit into certain aspects of the culture; and they were logical next steps in an existing process. For example, the extension of the compulsory years from 6 to 9 met a demand of the Japanese people for more education. It was, in fact, in line with moves already taken. The educational reform of 1941 had aimed to raise the compulsory years to 8 and, though not strictly enforced, about 75 percent of the Nation's youth were already going beyond the required years. The particular 6–3–3 ladder recommended by the U. S. Education Mission was not unfamiliar to Japanese educators. As early as the 1930's a professor of education at Tokyo Imperial University, the late Shigetaka Abe, had recommended its adoption to Prime Minister Koneye; but his proposal was not followed out by the military group in power at that time.[41]

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[38] Akira Watanabe, Reform Problems of Present Junior Colleges in Japan, *Junior College Journal,* 28: 84, October 1957.

[39] Japanese Education Reform Council, *Education Reform in Japan: The Present Status and the Problems Involved,* p. 190.

[40] *Report of the Second United States Education Mission to Japan,* p. 1.

Coeducation was a fulfillment of feminine demand for equal educational opportunity. Women's experience in war work gave them a taste of wider responsibility and resulted in their wider acceptance for responsibilities throughout the Nation.

The Present Period

Compulsory schooling and the LSS.—Following the Peace Treaty, certain groups, and particularly large tax-payers, who questioned costs of the new education, proposed that the compulsory education years be reduced from 9 to 8, arguing that this would save the country 10 billion yen (nearly $27.8 million) annually.[42] They said that students could be taught as much in 8 as in 9 years if the school program were upgraded. The ideas were stressed by various businessmen. It was indicated by some that youth might more profitably be drawn into the labor market at the end of their 8th year at age 14 or 15.

The reaction of the Japanese public generally and the Japan Teachers Union was immediate. They supported the 6–3 system, holding that the 9 years of compulsory education meant greater opportunity for their children, which they desired.[43] Editors and educators opposed plans for revision and reportedly continue to do so today.[44]

At the USS Principals Association meeting in Tokyo in May 1957, it was proposed that a separate track be set up for those intending to go on to the university. It would consist of the LSS and USS together in a 6–6 system. The 6–3–3 would be kept for those not intending to go on and would become the lower and the vocational ladder. There were protests against this proposal in the newspapers, especially by LSS teachers, and the 9 years of compulsory education has continued.

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[41] Masunori Hiratsuka, Some Important Moments in the History of Modern Japanese Education, p. 99.

[42] *Nippon Times*, October 23, 1951.

[43] Mombusho. *Gakusei Hachijunen Shi*, p. 708.

[44] Noboru Ito, The Reform of Japanese Education, *Japan Quarterly*, 3: 430, October–December 1956.

What about the particular ladder, known as the 6–3 system? The 3-year LSS seemed the principal problem. When it was instituted in 1947–49, it lacked buildings, facilities, and trained teachers. It was little more than an extension of elementary education whose facilities it frequently used. Since the system went into effect, villages, towns, and cities have made great sacrifices and raised money, built buildings, and hired teachers. Reportedly the schools have improved year by year and enjoy increased public approval.[45]

Comprehensive school status.—Roughly half of those who complete LSS go to the USS. There they have a choice between the general or liberal arts course preparing them for the university and one of the vocational courses[46] preparing them for immediate entry into the occupational world. The general or academic course is in greater demand. Only 30 percent of those who take the academic course go on to college, while the remaining 70 percent, who go directly into jobs, have no vocational training. A Ministry statement on the vocational education situation said:

> Teachers have lost their awareness of the importance of industrial education, and parents have lost interest in it. Such being the case, students who select the course have gradually declined in quality and number compared with those enrolled in the regular liberal arts course.[47]

Many Japanese felt that the former vocational schools were tooled up for industrial, commercial, and agricultural education, while the comprehensive schools probably could not acquire the equipment and staff to do as well in this specialized education. Some of the comprehensive or multi-course schools have changed to 1-course specialized vocational schools. By so doing, said the members of a prefectural board, it was possible to assemble equipment needed for the training. This board also felt that by separating the general from the vocational, students in the latter would have a better educational opportunity. Employers, represented by the Japan Federation of Employers' Associations, are supporting the establishment of vocational 6-year USS.[48]

School districting.—Most of the Prefectures have school districting at the elementary and lower secondary level. At the upper secondary level practice varies. Districting exists in Hokkaido and the Prefectures of Kyoto, Fukui, Hiroshima, Ehime, and Fukuoka.

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[45] Tamon Maeda, The Direction of Postwar Education, *Japan Quarterly*, 3 : 416, October–December 1956.

[46] Courses normally available in the USS are general, agricultural, technical, and homemaking. Schools with 2 or more of these courses are called comprehensive.

[47] See : Mombusho. *Gakusei Hachijunen Shi*, p. 654.

[48] See : *Japan Times*, Dec. 27, 1957.

In some places, such as Tokyo Metropolis, the USS districts have been enlarged with many schools included, and students may try for the school of their choice within the district. In some schools a certain number of places are reserved for girls to assure the maintenance of the principle of coeducation.

A unique solution to the problem of meeting the demand for and retaining the advantages of equalizing educational opportunity as intended by the districting system, is to be seen in Hiroshima Prefecture. In 1955 it was found that nearly half of the students in the old First Middle School of Hiroshima City (now called Kokutaiji Upper Secondary School) were there in violation of the district limitations—some coming in from outside the city as formerly. So the old school district lines were wiped out, and the city was made into one big school district with the five secondary schools in Hiroshima City on an equal basis. Each of the five was now comprehensive, but some had formerly been academic and some vocational. All students aspired to enter the top academic school. (It qualified as a comprehensive school because it had added a homemaking course to its general course.)

To solve the problem, the educational authorities decreed that all five schools were to give the same entrance examination at the same time. The student could take the test anywhere and specify his choice of school in the order of his preferences. The authorities then distributed the students to the five USS on two grounds: (1) According to the individual's first choice if he made a high score, and (2) according to the needs of the school in order to equalize the overall quality of the entrants with that of the others. If a youth who made a high score elected the vocational course of one of the lesser schools, he got his first choice. Even many who made low scores were permitted to enter the former prestige school, on the theory that some from each ability group should go to each of the schools. This solution has not seemed popular; but so far, it is one of the attempts to hold to the gains of districting in equalizing educational opportunity through the USS level.

Continuation of part-time and extension courses.—Full-time USS are limited primarily to cities and larger towns. Many towns and villages in the rural areas are unable to provide regular upper-secondary education. The part-time (night) USS or the correspondence work at the same level were two special systems designed to meet the needs of working youth. The part-time USS are continuing to serve some 21 percent of all secondary school students.[49]

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[49] Ministry of Education, *Education in 1955: Annual Report of the Ministry of Education* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1957), p. 50.

Many of the students now are young people who failed the examination of the regular USS and are preparing for another try at the examination.

On the 10th anniversary (November 24, 1957) of the establishment of the part-time USS and the correspondence course at the same level a newspaper commented that interest in these types of schools had faded. The number of part-time USS had decreased by 91 during 1957 and 55 more would probably be going out of existence. At the same time, course offerings in correspondence education have expanded to make it possible for a working youth to graduate from USS through correspondence study alone. Reportedly more teachers are needed for these programs.[50] In speaking about these schools, former Minister of Education Tamon Maeda said:

> There must also be a change in thinking on the part of society as a whole. Employers must learn, when hiring men, not to rely simply upon . . . their educational histories, but . . . on . . . their actual abilities, and a consideration of their overall character.[51]

Coeducation increases.—Majority public opinion favors coeducation, it was revealed by the Ministry of Education in 1957 when it presented the results of a survey conducted in cooperation with local boards of education during 1956.[52] According to these findings, there were 263 USS throughout the Nation which were coeducational at the time the system was initiated in 1948. Since that time the number has increased year by year until by 1956 there were 1,895 regular USS that were coeducational or 63.9 percent of all such schools, and 1,445 part-time USS, or 81.5 percent of such part-time schools. No serious sex problems were reported to have arisen from coeducation in USS. On the basis of the findings, the Ministry decided that coeducation should be encouraged further. An editorial in the *Japan Times* said: "The biggest social revolution since the feudal Shogunate was abolished is here to stay."[53]

In sections of the country such as Yamanashi, Kofu, and Tokushima, a few schools have changed to schools for boys or for girls. Some schools in some of the big cities reportedly have few girls because many of the girls do not plan to continue their studies after they graduate and prefer schools where less emphasis is placed on preparing for the next higher level.

Higher education is open to women. In older institutions—Kyoto University, for example—women total less than 5 percent of the

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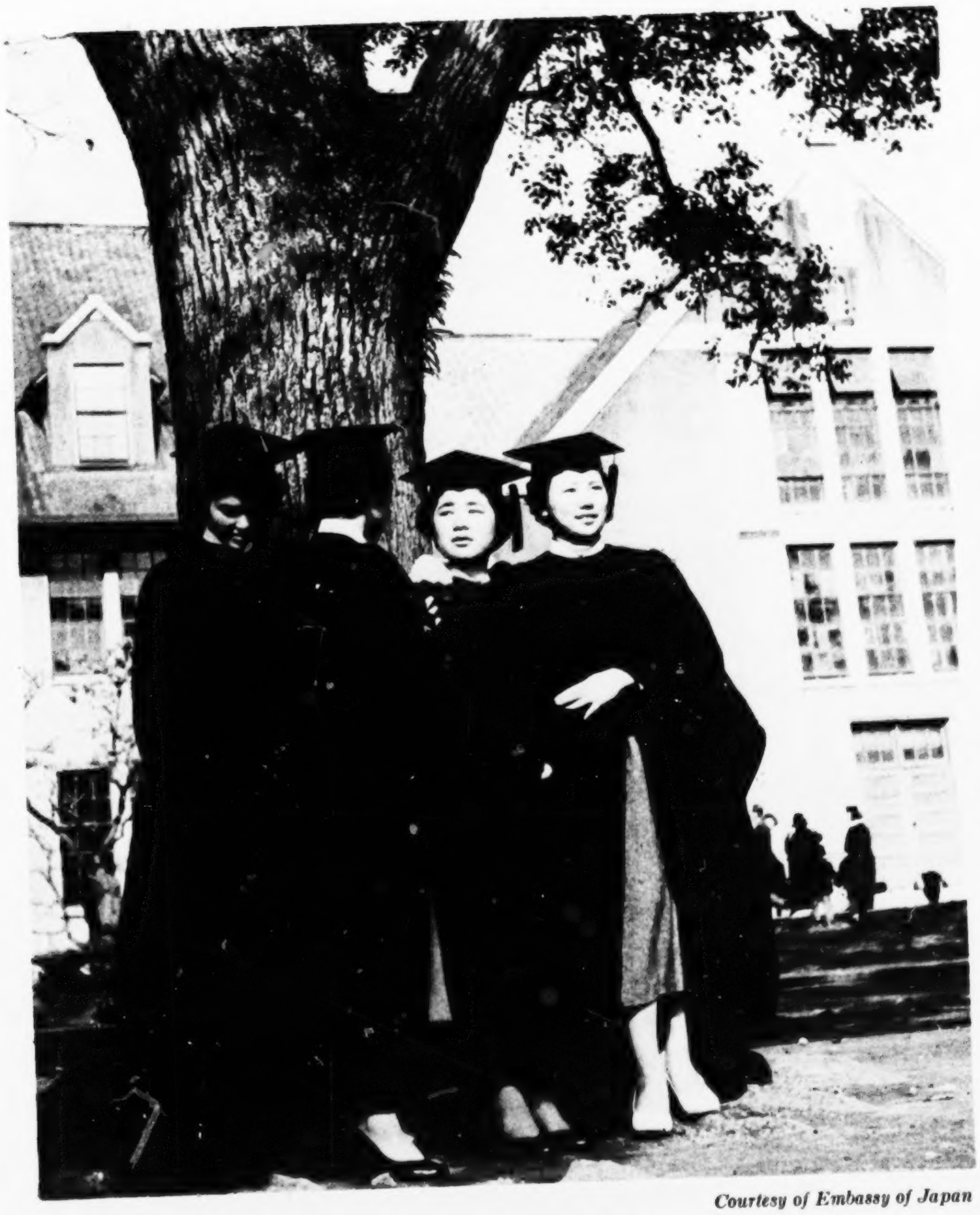
[50] *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, Nov. 24, 1957 as translated in: *Japan Times*, November 24, 1957.

[51] The Direction of Postwar Education in Japan, p. 423.

[52] *Japan Times*, May 10, 1957.

[53] Ibid., May 17, 1957.



Courtesy of Embassy of Japan

University education comes to Japanese women—Nagasaki.

student body. The overall number of women going on to higher education has increased. There were a hundred thousand in college (primarily in junior college) in 1954 or 3 out of every 100 girls of college age. The ratio between the sexes was 1 woman to 5 men.[54] There still are some inequalities in opportunity at the higher levels, but as lower school coeducation strengthens their preparation, women can be expected to appear in increasing numbers at the national universities.[55]

New universities versus old.—Despite the opinion that there are too many new universities, few have closed their doors. They are offering higher education for rural youth which some Japanese in the older schools claim is poor. On the other hand interests have developed around these respective schools, such as pride of the local community. Some are beginning to provide trained personnel for local commerce and industry. A major difficulty is the irresistible urge of their new graduates to get to the Capital. For example, in one of the older provincial universities serving a thriving agricultural region now being transformed to an industrial area (which would likely have a high job potential), graduates have their eyes on and professors go to Tokyo to seek jobs for them in Government, commerce, and industry.

In the central Government, law graduates from Tokyo hold the majority of positions as section chief and above in the Ministry of Education. High positions in other ministries also tend to be held by Tokyo University graduates. Japanese youth aspiring to go to Tokyo University may wait several years to be admitted or may attend a cramming school (yobiko) to improve their chances for admission. Tokyo is the main center of concentration for higher education institutions. Of the 492 colleges and universities, 147 are located there.

The new universities are often compared unfavorably with the old. They are serving a larger, more heterogeneous group of students. In extending educational opportunity more democratically, they often seem to have had to reduce standards. The complaint is made that students are not as good as before. Actually the quality of the top group is probably the same; the difference is that in taking in more students they include those of lesser ability too. Some of the universities are beginning to specialize such as Hokkaido University in sanitary engineering; and Kagoshima University, in fisheries products engineering.

As in countries in general, one key to problems in higher education is finance. The Ministry of Education in Japan points out that there always are inadequate funds for higher education and it must decide where to put its available money to get the best return on the investments. President Masamichi Royama of Ochanomizu University for women suggests that a solution might be the spreading of support more evenly on the basis of a division of labor among universities according to their natural local occupational specialties.[56]

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[54] Ministry of Labor, The Status of Women in Postwar Japan, p. 9.

[55] Dallas Finn, Japanese Universities Today, *Yale Review*, 43 : 571, Summer 1954.

Examination system.—Where demand increases for entrance to schools preparing for positions deemed to be choice, the law of supply and demand tends to become operative in deciding who can be accommodated. As entrance examinations to the university become more difficult, a chain reaction down the educational line results in increased competition and in harder entrance examinations at successive lower levels. The examination system has its influence as students compete for entrance into educational institutions of their choice. Those who fail in the examinations are faced with such alternatives as being satisfied with something less than their choice or spending a year or more preparing to try again. A high percent of the university population of the older schools are students who have failed one or more times in the entrance examination but have finally been successful in getting into their preferred institutions. They are called *ronin*.

According to Dean Tokiomi Kaigo of Tokyo University, the entrance examinations have modified the 6–3–3–4 system to a 6–3–x–3–x–4 system in which "x" stands for an indeterminate number of years spent in cramming outside the regular school system. He says that this is an inefficient use of time. A Tokyo newspaper editorialized: "One of the greatest evils of the present examination system" is that it "tends to warp . . . education."[57]

Scholarships.—Charts IV and V show the number of students receiving Government loans for scholarship purposes and the proportion of students receiving scholarship loans to the total number of students at each level of schooling. There is recognition by every political party and every cabinet of the need for scholarship aid. Year by year the number of students qualifying for such aid has increased. From 13 million yen in 1946, the budget of the quasi-governmental Japan Scholarship Society, which is supervised by the Ministry of Education, was increased to 4,410 million yen in 1956—a substantial increase but because of inflation, not as large as it would seem. Some 227,000 students in USS, colleges, universities, and graduate schools received scholarship loan aid in 1956–57 or 3

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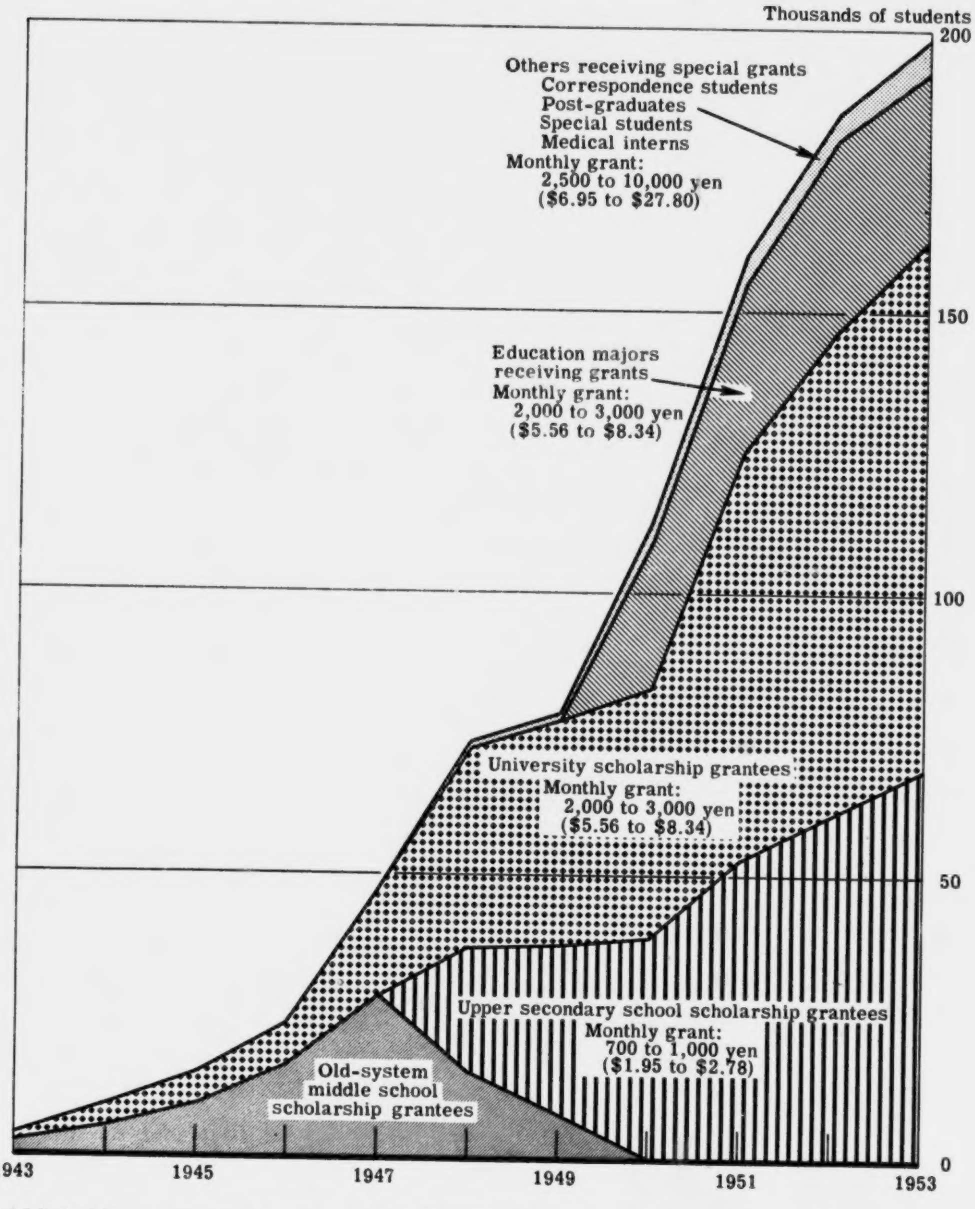
[56] Author's interview, Tokyo, May 7, 1957.

[57] See: Editorial in *Mainichi Shimbun* [Tokyo], Feb. 23, 1956.

Chart IV.—Number of students receiving Government loans for scholarship purposes, 1943–53 [1]



1/ Adapted from: Mombusho. Zu de Miru Wagakuni Kyoiku no Ayumi: Kyoiku Tokei 80 Nen Shi. Tokyo, Mombusho, Showa 32, 1 gatsu. 51.
(Ministry of Education. Progress of Our Country's Education as Seen by Charts: An 80-Year History of Educational Statistics. Tokyo, the Ministry, January 1957. p. 51.)

percent of all USS students, 21 percent of all college and university students, 25.5 percent of all graduate students.[58] Chart No. V shows

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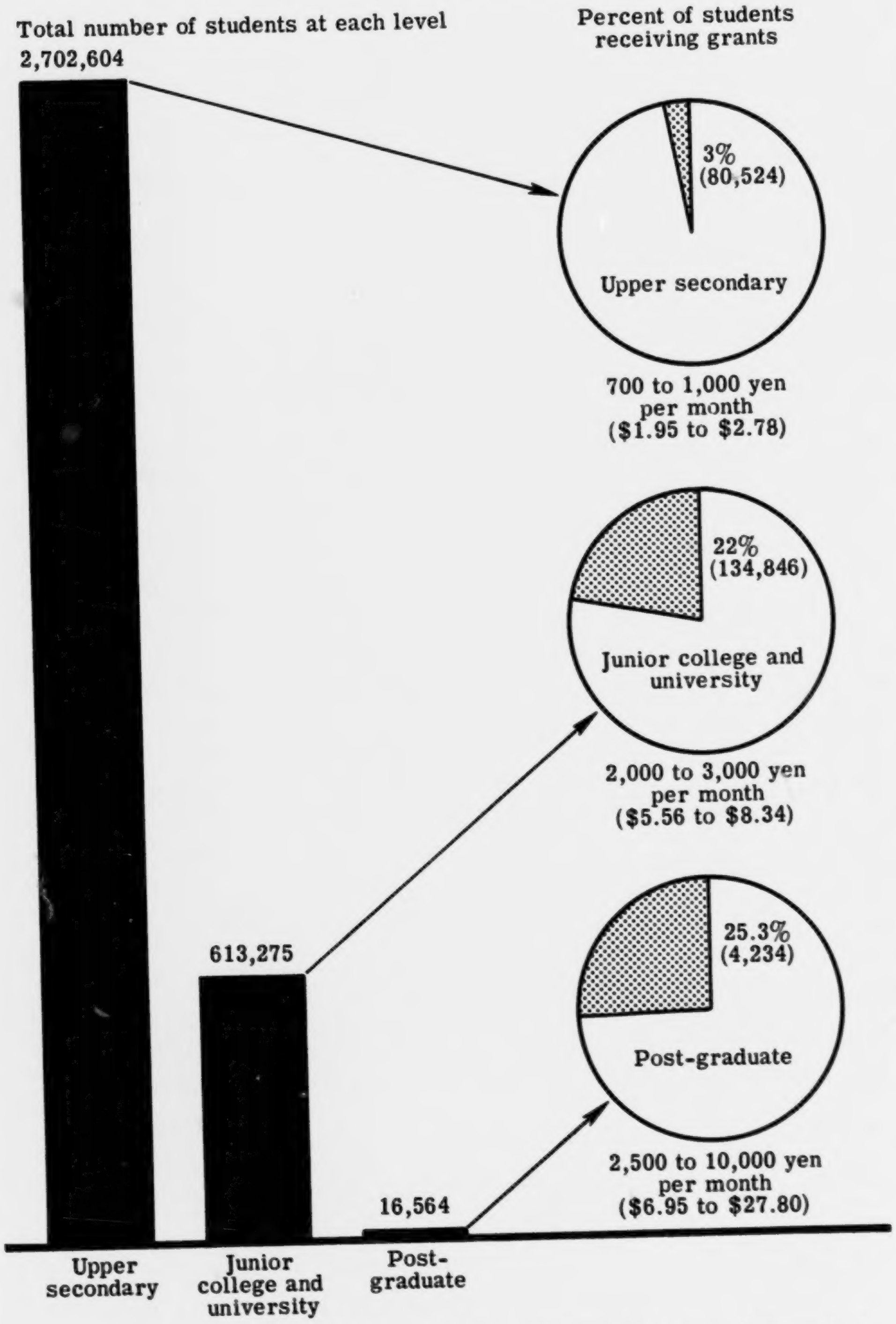
[58] Ministry of Education, *Education in 1956: Annual Report of the Ministry of Education* (Tokyo, The Ministry, March 1958), Part I. p. 129-30 and Part II. 16, 32, and 38.

Chart V.—Ratio of students receiving scholarship loans from Japan Scholarship Society to total number of students at each educational level, 1955–56.[1]



[1] Data from: Ministry of Education. Education in 1956: Annual Report of the Ministry of Education. Part I. p. 129 and Part II. pp. 16, 32, and 38. Tokyo, the Ministry, March 1958.

the monthly amounts of the loans to be 700 to 1,000 yen ($1.95 to $2.78) for a USS student, 2,000 to 3,000 yen ($5.56 to $8.34) for a university student, and from 2,500 to 10,000 yen ($6.95 to $27.80) for a graduate student, repayable within 20 years in annual installments. Education students, almost 70 percent of whom receive scholarship aid, have their loans cancelled automatically by teaching for a required number of years.

In addition to the Japan Scholarship Society, there are over 600 other scholarship societies, public and private, providing assistance to needy students. They are sponsored by local public bodies, schools, former feudal lords, private citizens, and religious organizations, and they provided more than 1 billion yen to 69,537 students in 1956–57.

The Ministry of Welfare provides further scholarship assistance through its welfare fund for widows with dependent children. Loans are made for USS and college and university students under 20 years of age or until graduation. The National Government lends half of the necessary funds free of interest to prefectural governments, which then provide the appropriate loan to the needy students.

According to a student paper presented to the Ministry of Education and covering 1955–56, the requirements of a student for maintenance and school expenses in Tokyo or Kyoto were 8,000 to 9,000 yen per month ($22.23 to $25).[59] It is estimated that an additional 2 billion yen (over $5.5 million) would be required if all students who qualify for scholarships were provided with them.[60] About half of the students seek work. Not all find it. For nearly half of the students, scholarship loans were needed. To help students additionally, Japan has planned a new system of compulsory student health insurance.

Class size.—Practically all children of compulsory age are in school. The school systems in the U. S. have their problems in providing enough classrooms and enough teachers for the ever-increasing numbers of children. Japan has her problem, too, and she has a greater density in population than has the U. S. By 1956 there were some 18.5 million children enrolled in schools at the compulsory level—an increase of about a half a million over the previous year. Some 13,000 more teachers were estimated to be needed;

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[59] *Nippon Times*, June 20, 1956. According to the Japan Times, January 10, 1958, the draft budget for fiscal year 1958–59 includes provision for 5,000 scholarships for LSS graduates to help them go on to USS through a monthly grant of 3,000 yen ($8.34) each with provision for an increase to 8,000 yen ($22.23) if the student goes on to the university.

[60] Hidaka, op. cit., p. 150.

some 4,000 were added.[61] Classes grew larger or shifts were added to cope with the increased number of youngsters. The maximum legal size of classes in the elementary and LSS is 50 pupils. In 39 out of the 46 Prefectures from 59 to 63 children reportedly were authorized.[62]

Appendix B on p. 216 shows the number of schools, teachers, and pupils, and the pupil-teacher ratio as of May 1957. In a Ministry of Education study reported in the press in 1957 some 37 percent of the elementary classrooms were considered to be overcrowded and some 39 percent of the LSS classrooms.[63] In Tokyo some 57 percent of the elementary classes and 80 percent of the LSS rooms were reported as having more than the limit of 50.[64] The peak year for births was 1946–47. These children now are surging up the educational ladder. In 1957 most were in the 4th grade, and classes at that level usually were overcrowded. The availability of teachers who are qualified for the particular program, the space, and the money needed are a few of the problems which must be taken into account. In 1958 the Ministry drew up a bill to require prefectural boards of education to obtain Ministry permission for classes of more than 55 students at the compulsory level schools and appropriated money for hiring an additional 3,300 teachers.[65]

Schools in remote areas.—Geography in Japan has affected educational opportunity. On the four main islands, with their rugged mountain core and their thousands of off-shore islands, there are many areas that are difficult of access, and where the people have low income. The public schools are generally one-room, inadequately staffed and inadequately equipped. But the educational fervor of the people, supported by an interested government policy, has led in recent years to the building of many schools, in tiny mountain villages and on remote islands. In the snowbound northwest prefectures, along the Japan Sea, and on the northernmost island of Hokkaido, it is difficult for children to reach the schoolhouse in winter. Special dormitories or "branch schools for the snowy season" must be set up. Japan also has a migratory population of fishermen who go out with their families to the off-shore islands in spring and summer to fish, then return to the mainland in winter. Seasonal schools must be established to accommodate this migration. According to a Ministry survey made in 1955, 4,886 remote rural schools at the elementary level, or 18.3 percent of the national total, and 2,121 at the lower secondary level, 16.3 percent of the total, paid isolated area allowances to teachers. From 1950 on, teachers in these areas were specially compensated by the Government for their extra hardships.

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[61] Tsuneta Yano Memorial Society. *Nippon: A Chartered Survey of Japan* (Tokyo. Kokusei-sha, 1957), p. 253.

[62] See: *Yomiuri Shimbun*, May 9, 1957.

[63] Ibid., April 19, 1957.

[64] *Asahi Evening News*, Jan. 27, 1958.

[65] See *Nippon Kyoiku Shimbun*, Jan. 29, 1958.

Without basic equipment, teachers must devise ingenious methods to teach their underprivileged charges. In order to prepare teachers for such isolated areas, the Ministry's specialized training program by 1956 had set up 13 institutes. They provided a 2-year course leading to the 2d class teachers' certificate and a 1-year course leading to a temporary certificate. In the school year 1955–56 over 500 teachers were trained. In one now-famous case, that of the so-called Yamabiko School in mountainous Yamagata Prefecture, the teacher, Mr. Muchaku, urged his LSS pupils to write about their own lives. The pathetic tales of poverty and sickness were published and touched the heart of the nation.

In 1952 teachers in remote areas organized a study group, and in 1954 a "Law for the Promotion of Education in Remote Areas" was passed, granting subsidies for the provision of education in remote areas. In fiscal year 1954–55, the sum of 183 million yen ($508,000) was appropriated in the national budget for this purpose. It provided for the construction of assembly halls for use both as daytime schools for children and as Citizens Public Halls for adult education, teachers' residences, special allowances for such teachers, and teacher-training facilities for isolated areas.

The Government obviously is making progress toward equalizing the opportunity of youth in remote areas. Besides assisting in building, equipping, and staffing schools, it provides school buses and school boats to bring youth into contact with the more populated areas.

Educational opportunity is wider than in prewar days but not as wide as Japan desires, for the demand for education exceeds the supply of facilities. Reportedly there are about 5 times as many applicants to the universities throughout the country as there are vacancies and for universities in Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka as many as 20 times the number of applicants as can be accommodated.[66]

Since there is a demand for scientists and technologists, university quotas for students going into the humanities and education are being reduced. In some cases such as Ochanomizu Women's University and the liberal arts and education universities (gakugei) the reduction of entering majors in education was required by the Min-

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[66] *New York Times*, Educational Supplement, March 4, 1955. p. 227.

Photo by Japan Overseas Publicity Association

A modern municipal elementary school—Yokohama.

istry; in other cases such as the Department of Literature in Kyoto University, the reduction in the quota was voluntary on the part of that department, for about half the literature graduates secured positions in 1957, while all the science, technology, and economics graduates reportedly were placed.

Doors of opportunity.—One educator, Dean Daishiro Hidaka of International Christian University and former vice-minister of Education, said:

> The one-track system must be somewhat modified, but Japan must be very careful not to close the doors of opportunity nor divide its people as in pre-war days, the wealthy and talented being given an academic education and the masses being restricted to vocational training.
>
> . . . This may mean some sacrifices of general education, but Japan should still cling to the idea of general education or it will lose the gains of responsible citizenship that it has made . . .[67]

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[67] Author's interview, Tokyo, May 22, 1957.

CHAPTER III

Administration and Supervision

THE ESTABLISHMENT of machinery for administering the national system of education through a Department (later a Ministry) of Education was one of the early concerns of the Meiji leaders. This machinery was centralized for the first 74 years.

Initial Modernization Epoch

As heretofore indicated, a Department of Education was established in 1871 in the new Capital City of Tokyo to supervise the system that was to come. The Department became the Ministry of Education in 1885 and was reorganized in 1915 and again in 1934. Most schools came under its jurisdiction.[1] Government schools—universities, higher normal schools, higher schools, certain technical institutes, and special schools for the blind, deaf, and dumb—came directly under its control. Public schools such as elementary, middle, girls' high, normal, and certain special and technical schools were established and operated by the Prefectures and local public entities and came indirectly under the Ministry of Education through Education Departments of the prefectural and local governments. Private schools came under direct central control in the case of colleges and universities and indirectly in the case of lower schools.

Administration

The Ministry of Education had responsibility for most aspects of the school system including the nature and aims of schools, scholastic terms, curriculums, entrance qualifications, teachers' qualifications, equipment, management of personnel, drawing up of educa-

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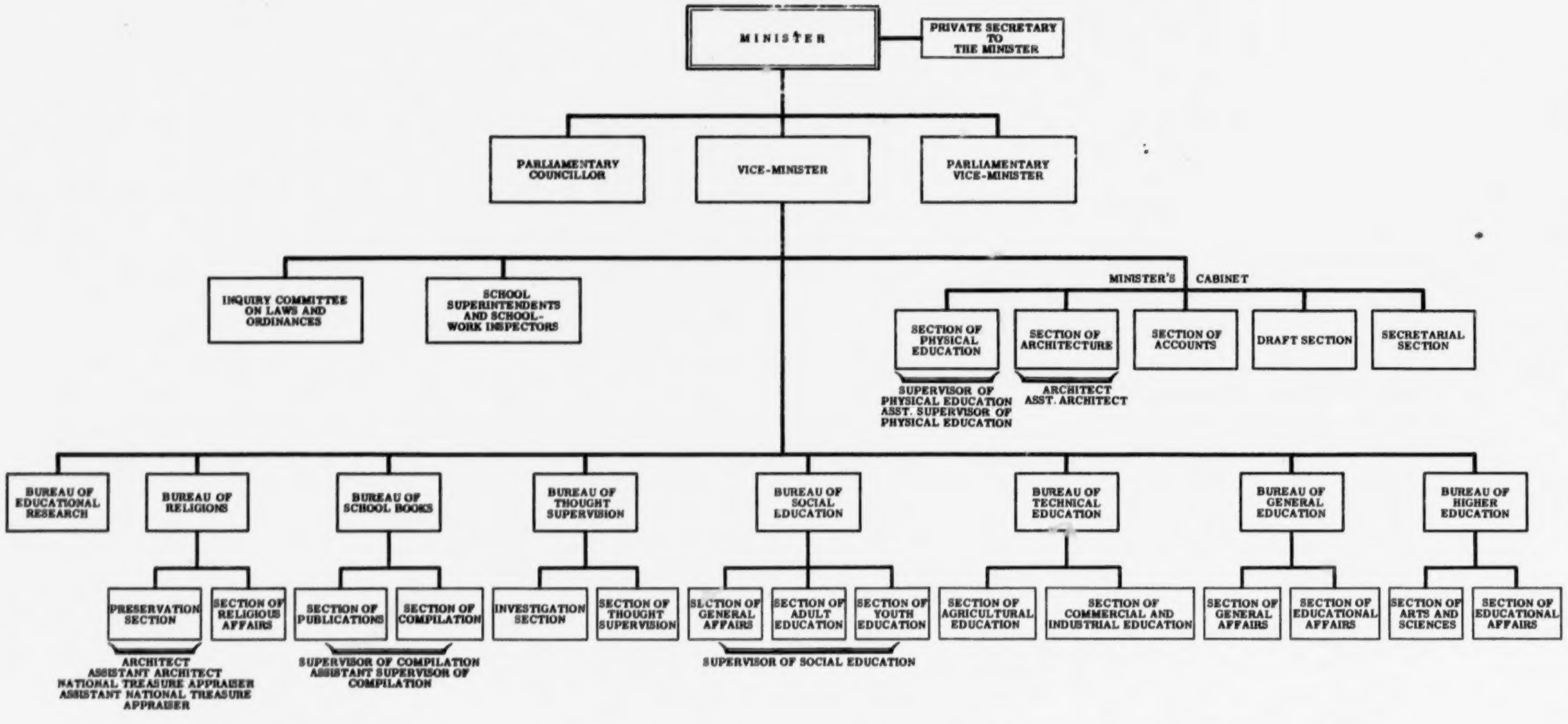
[1] Some schools were independent of the Ministry such as the Peers and Peeresses Schools, military and naval academies, police academies, and various specialized schools in forestry, sericulture, and fishing which came under the responsibility of other ministries.

Chart VI.—Organization of the Department (Ministry) of Education of Japan, 1937[1]


MINISTER
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE MINISTER
PARLIAMENTARY COUNCILLOR
VICE-MINISTER
PARLIAMENTARY VICE-MINISTER
INQUIRY COMMITTEE ON LAWS AND ORDINANCES
SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS AND SCHOOL-WORK INSPECTORS
MINISTER'S CABINET
SECTION OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION
SUPERVISOR OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION
ASST. SUPERVISOR OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION
SECTION OF ARCHITECTURE
ARCHITECT
ASST. ARCHITECT
SECTION OF ACCOUNTS
DRAFT SECTION
SECRETARIAL SECTION
BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
BUREAU OF RELIGIONS
PRESERVATION SECTION
SECTION OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
ARCHITECT
ASSISTANT ARCHITECT
NATIONAL TREASURE APPRAISER
ASSISTANT NATIONAL TREASURE APPRAISER
BUREAU OF SCHOOL BOOKS
SECTION OF PUBLICATIONS
SECTION OF COMPILATION
SUPERVISOR OF COMPILATION
ASSISTANT SUPERVISOR OF COMPILATION
BUREAU OF THOUGHT SUPERVISION
INVESTIGATION SECTION
SECTION OF THOUGHT SUPERVISION
BUREAU OF SOCIAL EDUCATION
SECTION OF GENERAL AFFAIRS
SECTION OF ADULT EDUCATION
SECTION OF YOUTH EDUCATION
SUPERVISOR OF SOCIAL EDUCATION
BUREAU OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION
SECTION OF AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION
SECTION OF COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION
BUREAU OF GENERAL EDUCATION
SECTION OF GENERAL AFFAIRS
SECTION OF EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS
BUREAU OF HIGHER EDUCATION
SECTION OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
SECTION OF EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS

Note: Each Bureau has a Director, and each Section, a Chief. The Director of the Bureau of Educational Research and the Chief of each Section are selected and appointed from among the high officials of the Department. In addition to the officials mentioned under the Bureaus and Sections, secretaries and clerks are properly distributed among those different parts of the Department for the conduct of affairs.

[1] Department (Ministry) of Education. *A General Survey of Education in Japan.* Tokyo, the Department, 1938. fold-in.

tional budgets, allotment of funds, and the like. The basic channel of authority from the Ministry to the local schools was from Minister to Prefectural Governor to local mayor to head of school; some policy and internal administrative regulations went from the appropriate bureau in the Ministry in Tokyo either directly to the school or via the corresponding section of the Prefectural or local education department.

Top policy was issued in Imperial Ordinances of the Emperor which were prepared and countersigned by the Ministry of Education. Other policy was issued in the form of orders, and day-to-day administrative decisions were issued in the form of instructions. The latter usually came from bureau chiefs.[2] Financial control was centralized. Chart VI on p. 74 presents this organization and the flow of authority as of 1937.

The head of the Ministry of Education was the Minister. He was appointed by the Emperor on the advice of the Premier, and his tenure of office related to that of the party in power. He was concerned with the policies of his political party in the field of education. According to a 1937 Ministry description, his responsibilities included: (1) Executing the laws and ordinances relating to educational affairs; (2) issuing orders; (3) supervising and directing the educational activities of the superintendent-general of the metropolitan police and governors of the Prefectures and of Hokkaido; (4) managing Government schools and other educational institutions; (5) directly supervising public and private universities, special colleges, and higher schools; and (6) controlling through the prefectural governors the other public and private schools and museums.[3] In addition, he was responsible for matters relating to art, science, and religion.

Besides a private secretary, three officials assisted the Minister in his task—a Vice-Minister, a Parliamentary Vice-Minister, and a Parliamentary Councillor. The Vice-Minister usually was a civil servant who had worked his way up the line in the service; he was not necessarily an educator. Having tenure, he provided the continuity to run the Nation's schools and tended to be more familiar with the internal functioning of the Ministry. He was immediately in charge of these internal operations, while the Minister was more concerned with duties such as relationships with Imperial Diet members, sessions of the Cabinet, and presenting proposed budgets and draft legislation for approval. The Parliamentary Vice-Minister assisted the Minister in political matters and served as policy-level liaison officer with the Imperial Diet. The Parliamentary Councillor served as budget liaison officer with the Imperial Diet.[4]

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[2] Robert King Hall, *Education for a New Japan* (New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Press, 1949), p. 238-39.

[3] Department [Ministry] of Education, *Education in Japan Under the Department of Education: Administration and Work* (Tokyo: the Department, 1937), p. 3.

Under these officers were eight permanent bureaus as of 1937:[5] General Education, Higher Education, Technical Education, Social [adult] Education, Thought Supervision, School Books, Religions, and Educational Research. The first three were most directly concerned with administering schools. Each bureau was headed by a bureau chief with administrative experience in the civil service—usually a law graduate of Tokyo Imperial University who had moved up the Ministry ladder. The personnel who staffed the bureaus and subordinate sections usually were Tokyo Imperial University graduates also.

Housekeeping functions of the Ministry and responsibilities not delegated to the bureaus were handled by a Secretariat or Minister's Cabinet composed of five sections: Accounts, Draft [documents], Architecture, Physical Education, and Secretarial [personnel]. The Accounts Section controlled funds and audited the Ministry's income and expenditures. The Draft Section compiled and distributed annual reports and statistics and maintained records. The Architecture Section reviewed and approved building plans for public and private schools, libraries, and museums; supervised the construction and repair of buildings; and controlled the property of Government institutions. The Physical Education Section supervised physical training in the schools, promoted school hygiene, gathered school health statistics, and watched over schools for the handicapped. The Secretarial Section was in charge of promotions, demotions, pensions, retirement, and ranking and classification of public school teachers, administrators, Ministry officials, and foreign teachers. It distributed the Imperial portraits and the *Imperial Rescript on Education* to the schools.

Supervisory control over the schools was exercised by the Ministry through its Division of School Superintendents and School Work Inspectors, which was parallel to the bureaus. It had a corps of national school inspectors who travelled around the country inspecting schools and providing a direct medium of communication between the Ministry and the Prefectures. Several bureaus and sections also had inspectors attached to them.

The arm of the Ministry at the prefectural level was the governor who was responsible for carrying out central Government policy in his area. Appointed by and under the Minister of Home Affairs, the governor also was the educational deputy of the Minister of Education and had responsibility for elementary schools, including the execution of Ministry directives and insuring the performance at local levels. The prefectural governor had on his staff the chief of the division of educational affairs. The division had an administrative staff including school inspectors, directors of physical education and training, school hygiene officers, architects, and directors of social education.

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[4] Hall, op. cit., p. 232.

[5] The United Nations has used 1937 as a "normal year." That year the World Federation of Educational Associations met in Tokyo, and for it the Ministry prepared extensive documentation in English on Japanese education.

At the lower administrative level—city, town, or village—mayors and village heads were responsible for carrying out the educational policy received from above. The mayors of cities had authority to make recommendations to the prefectural governor for the appointment of principals and teachers of elementary schools, and the governor made the appointments.

At the base of the pyramid were the institutions serving the children of the Nation—the elementary schools. Here, the principal was the top authority. There was a parent-child (oyabun kobun) relationship between principals and teachers similar to that in feudal society and involving loyalty to superiors. At faculty meetings orders and instructions were issued and interpreted and teachers were informed of irregularities which might be picked up by the inspectors. Teachers contributed their ideas on how to carry out orders or how to meet these problems. In later years in this epoch, the principal was responsibile for: (1) Discipline, (2) thought control, (3) encouraging students to contribute to the welfare of the State, and (4) seeing that students were prepared for entrance examinations to the next higher level.

Supervision

The earliest modern method of supervision was similar to the French of that day. A central advisory office was set up in the Department of Education, and a branch office staffed with inspectors was established in each of the eight collegiate divisions to carry out the policy and orders of the Department of Education. Local authorities consulted them in matters pertaining to education.

Later, both the Ministry and the prefectural departments of education sent out inspectors. They visited schools—sometimes unannounced—and observed school management, organization, teaching, materials, school traditions and regulations, finance, equipment, trend of staff and student thought, and compliance with policy. They rated teachers on the basis of effectiveness according to current goals. This rating might serve as the basis for promotion, demotion, or removal. They also made recommendations to the school or gave special instructions on Ministry policy. On occasion they directed changes in the school program. Inspection, said a former Minister of Education, was unpopular.[6] The number of inspectors in relation to the number of schools to be inspected was such that some schools did not receive annual visits.

At the higher education level—higher schools, colleges, and universities—the Ministry staff of 30 inspectors visited a particular institution about once in 4 or 5 years. For the schools under the jurisdiction of a Prefecture, a staff of 5 or 6 inspectors was available at the prefectural capital. They were assisted by 2 or 3 inspectors employed by the larger cities and were able to get around to a particular school about once in 2 years.

Local or city inspectors were chosen from those who had more than 5 years of experience as elementary or middle school principal or teacher. Prefectural inspectors were required to have more than 2 years of experience as principals or teachers in Government higher schools, colleges, or universities. Ministry of Education inspectors were high ranking civil servants engaged in education for more than 2 years or higher school or university teachers or administrators for 3 years. Inspectors varied in their approach, some were master teachers who helped the teachers whose work they inspected; some looked for faults, violations, or "dangerous thoughts."

Democratization Epoch

The Early Period

One of the priority reforms of the Occupation was decentralization of the Ministry of Education control so that schools might reflect more precisely the will of the people, meet their needs, and enlist their support. The U. S. Education Mission pointed out dangers of a centralized system as viewed from democratic tradition and experience:

> An educational system, controlled by an entrenched bureaucracy recruited from a narrow group, which reduces the chances of promotion on merit, which provides little opportunity for investigation and research, and which refuses to tolerate criticism, deprives itself automatically of the means of progress.
>
> . . . Experience indicates that the centralized system is more vulnerable

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[6] Baron Dairoku Kikuchi, *Japanese Education* (London, John Murray, 1909), p. 100.

> from the standpoint of manipulation and exploitation by powers either outside or inside the system . . .
>
> The control of the instructional program should be more dispersed than at present; verticle lines of authority and responsibility should be definitely broken at certain levels of the system.
>
> . . . This means that many present controls affecting curricula, methods, materials of instruction, and personnel shall be transferred to prefectural and local school administrative units.[7]

The functions of the new decentralized Ministry should be, the Education Mission suggested, the provision of expert consultative services in the various fields of education; the establishment of objective standards for the schools; the publication of outlines, suggestions, and teaching guides; and the distribution of educational funds provided by the National Government. In carrying out the changes recommended to achieve decentralization in administration, the Japanese Government passed three laws: the Board of Education Law in July 1948, the Ministry of Education Establishment Law in May 1949, and the Private School Law in December 1949.[8]

Board of Education Law.—To place the control of schools in the hands of the people, the U. S. Education Mission recommended the election of boards of education by popular vote at both local and prefectural levels. The Japanese counterpart to the U. S. Mission—JERC—accepted the general plan, though favoring appointment of the boards. Ministry officials opposed the idea of boards of education. They felt, for example, that: National guidance and control were necessary in view of the postwar conditions; local citizens were not prepared to accept responsibility for education and their indifference might permit education to fall into the hands of special interest groups; local control involving local financial responsibility would place too great a burden on individual communities; boards of education would be less experienced than the Ministry and more likely to reverse educational reforms; and educational standards would tend to go down.

Occupation authorities were firm in their desire to see school boards established. The Ministry then presented its case for appointed rather than elected boards. In time, the Diet passed a law which provided for school boards and contained various modifications from the initial proposal.

In 1879, Japan had had a brief experience with elected school boards modeled in part on boards in the U. S. The main difference was that the popularly elected boards were not autonomous. In 1948, the guiding principle of the school boards was local autonomy. Article I of the law stated:

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[7] *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 8, 25, and 27. (Department of State Publication 2579. Far Eastern Series 11.)

[8] SCAP, CIE, *Post-War Developments in Japanese Education* (Tokyo, GHQ, 1952), vol. II, p. 231–51, 1–23, and 171–94.

> This law aims at attaining the primary objective of education by establishing boards of education to execute educational administration based on the equitable popular will and actual local conditions, with the realization that education should be conducted without submitting to undue control and schools should be responsible to all the people.[9]

The law provided for 2 kinds of boards: (1) Prefectural boards of 7 members to control schools established by the Prefectures, with 6 of the members to be popularly elected, and (2) local boards of 5 members to control schools established by cities, towns, and villages, with 4 of the members to be elected. In both cases 1 member was appointed by the local assembly to act in a liaison capacity and represent its interests. The boards were to be council-type, policy-making agencies governing education, science, and cultural affairs. So little time was available to decide on whether or not to have a board that but few of the smaller localities qualified to elect a board. The Nation went to the polls on October 5, 1948, and elected boards in the 46 Prefectures, the 5 largest cities, and 46 smaller cities, towns, and villages, to take office November 1, 1948.[10]

The prefectural boards were the most important. They not only had full responsibility for prefectural schools (USS and special schools for the handicapped), but they had some responsibility toward local boards as well. For example, they were empowered to certify teachers and administrators, approve textbooks for public schools, give technical and professional advice and guidance to local boards, establish and revise attendance districts for USS, and plan and procure foodstuffs for the school lunch program. Otherwise, for the great body of elementary and LSS at the local level, local boards, as in the U. S., were responsible for educational matters, including the establishment and maintenance of schools, determining curriculums, choosing textbooks, buying instructional materials, and providing inservice training for teachers.

The major common duties of boards at both levels were to select a superintendent of education from among those who held certificates, appoint and dismiss principals and teachers in schools under their jurisdiction, and prepare the education budget for their schools and submit it to the assembly through the local governor or mayor. In other words, these powers, heretofore the province of the Ministry and its representatives were decentralized to each local body. However, the law represented a compromise. Representatives of the JTU in the Diet had insisted that: (1) Teachers be allowed to run for the board and (2) board members be remunerated for their services and reimbursed for their expenses. The boards had no independent tax sources to call upon. The local assembly could lower the budget and eliminate items. The superintendent often had to spend much of his time pleading for funds before the assembly.

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[9] Ibid., p. 231.

[10] At the time, Japan had 235 cities, 1,869 towns, and 8,369 villages eligible, according to the law, to elect boards of education. At the first election they were mandatory in the largest cities and optional elsewhere.

Thus in Japan, the institution of the board of education in the U. S. was modified to fit Japanese ideas and traditions. The concept of the board as a lay body of citizens who functioned without pay was not accepted by the Japanese. A compromise allowed teachers to run for board membership and required them to resign their teaching jobs if elected. The voters at large felt that it was logical that teachers, who knew more about education than laymen, should be elected to boards. So teachers, the majority of them members of the JTU or sympathetic to it, campaigned and won seats on many boards. The JTU achieved its aim of controlling a third of all board seats. In the management functions of hiring, firing, promoting, and demoting teachers, teachers were represented on both sides of the table and often had their way.

The provision on remuneration sometimes was interpreted to mean that the board members could vote themselves fairly sizeable salaries. The role of the board vis a vis that of the superintendent often was misunderstood. Since many boards had teacher members, they sometimes saw their role as including school administration, superimposed on the regular administration. The Second U. S. Education Mission pointed out that involvement in operating responsibilities of school personnel could damage an educational system by dividing authority instead of unifying it. The Mission tried to clarify views on board functions by explaining that a board was an organ to establish overall policy, not to administer it. In other words, the board should interpret the needs and reactions of the community to the professional staff and then rely on the technical knowledge and skill of the staff to carry out policy.[11]

Perhaps the key problem was financial dependence of the boards on the prefectural assemblies and the central Government. The assembly's right to cut the budget gave it policy-making power over the local educational system, especially in the field of school construction, where the letting of contracts and paying of bills were turned over to the chief of the local public body and his public works department.

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[11] *Report of the Second United States Education Mission to Japan* (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 4.

The second Mission noted that this lack of financial independence resulted in "lack of funds, reduced services, loss of public confidence in the 6–3–3 program, and an unfavorable reaction toward efforts to secure more funds."[12] Thus, long-range planning was a precarious undertaking for a local system. And the Ministry's payment of half of the salaries at the public elementary and lower secondary level gave it a certain control over the teaching corps. When times were hard and positions scarce principals and teachers liked to find out what would be acceptable to Ministry officials before taking action. The habit of looking to Tokyo was natural to them.

An innovation under the Board of Education Law was the provision for teacher consultants to replace the former school inspectors. These consultants specifically were limited to giving guidance and making recommendations to principals and teachers. They were prohibited from issuing orders and exercising control. In the beginning many former inspectors became teacher consultants and made the adjustment from their former to their new role.

The trend was toward a cooperative effort between supervisors and teachers in order to help teachers develop their own philosophy and improve their methods of teaching. The teacher consultants were to become guides and stimulators. A certification system was adopted which required them to attain higher professional standards. In addition, from 1948 on, inservice training for teacher consultants was provided annually—first through the Institutes for Educational Leadership, which were set up by Occupation authorities and staffed with educational leaders from the U. S. A modified program of inservice training for prefectural teacher consultants led by the Ministry brings them to Tokyo for a month of discussions and conferences every summer.

At the beginning an average of 6 to 10 teacher consultants would be assigned to each Prefecture. With several hundred schools and several thousand teachers within their jurisdiction, they could not possibly provide help to all who wanted or needed it even though they limited themselves to one subject-matter specialty.[13] Instead of being able to provide leadership through workshops and institutes, they often were bound to their desks by their responsibilities for the many administrative details.

Ministry of Education.—Another major step in decentralization and in transforming the Ministry's functions into "advisory and stimulating" functions was the enactment of the Ministry of Education Establishment Law in May 1949. Much progress had been made along this line by voluntary reforms in 1945–46. For example, Bureaus of Religions and Thought Supervision had been eliminated, and the School Education Law of 1947 and the Board of Education Law of 1948 were being implemented.

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[12] Loc. cit.

[13] Ministry of Education, *Progress of Education Reform in Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1950), p. 94.

Now the Ministry's powers and functions were redefined and changed to conform to democratic principles expressed in earlier basic laws. The Ministry no longer was to be an organ of control; mechanisms for control, such as the Division of School Superintendents and School Work Inspectors, were eliminated. The monopoly over the writing and publication of textbooks, the power to issue many classes of teaching certificates, and the centralized handling of promotions, demotions, and the like were removed. The School Books Bureau and the Physical Education Section were dissolved. According to Article 4, the Ministry now was responsible for advisory, informational, and research functions as quoted below:

> (1) Providing professional and technical guidance to boards of education, universities, and research institutions . . .; (2) Preparing drafts of laws and orders concerning minimum standards for a system of democratic education, and those necessary to develop and diffuse education; (3) Preparation of the budget, and allocation and distribution of funds appropriated from the National Treasury for the purpose of education; (4) Helping to procure materials for the purposes of education; (5) Maintaining contact and coordination of research activities in universities and research institutions; (6) Maintaining contact and coordination of activities . . . which involve foreign nations; (7) Research concerning education, and cooperation with . . . other agencies conducting research in this field; (8) Preparation and publication of professional and technical materials relating to education, and (9) . . . such affairs concerning education as are placed under the ministry by laws . . .[14]

The structure of the Ministry was reorganized in 1949 substantially as shown in Chart VII for 1957. It included a Secretariat and 5 bureaus: Elementary and Secondary Education, Higher Education and Science, Social Education, Research and Publications, and Administrative. These bureaus were divided into 4 to 7 sections each, to carry out the specialized duties of the Ministry. The Ministry also had jurisdiction over certain research and scientific institutes (including the Japan Art Academy) and 18 national councils to advise it on special problems. Before the reorganization, the Ministry employed 1,992 people; afterwards the number was cut some 27 percent to 1,463. The 8 branch offices located in different

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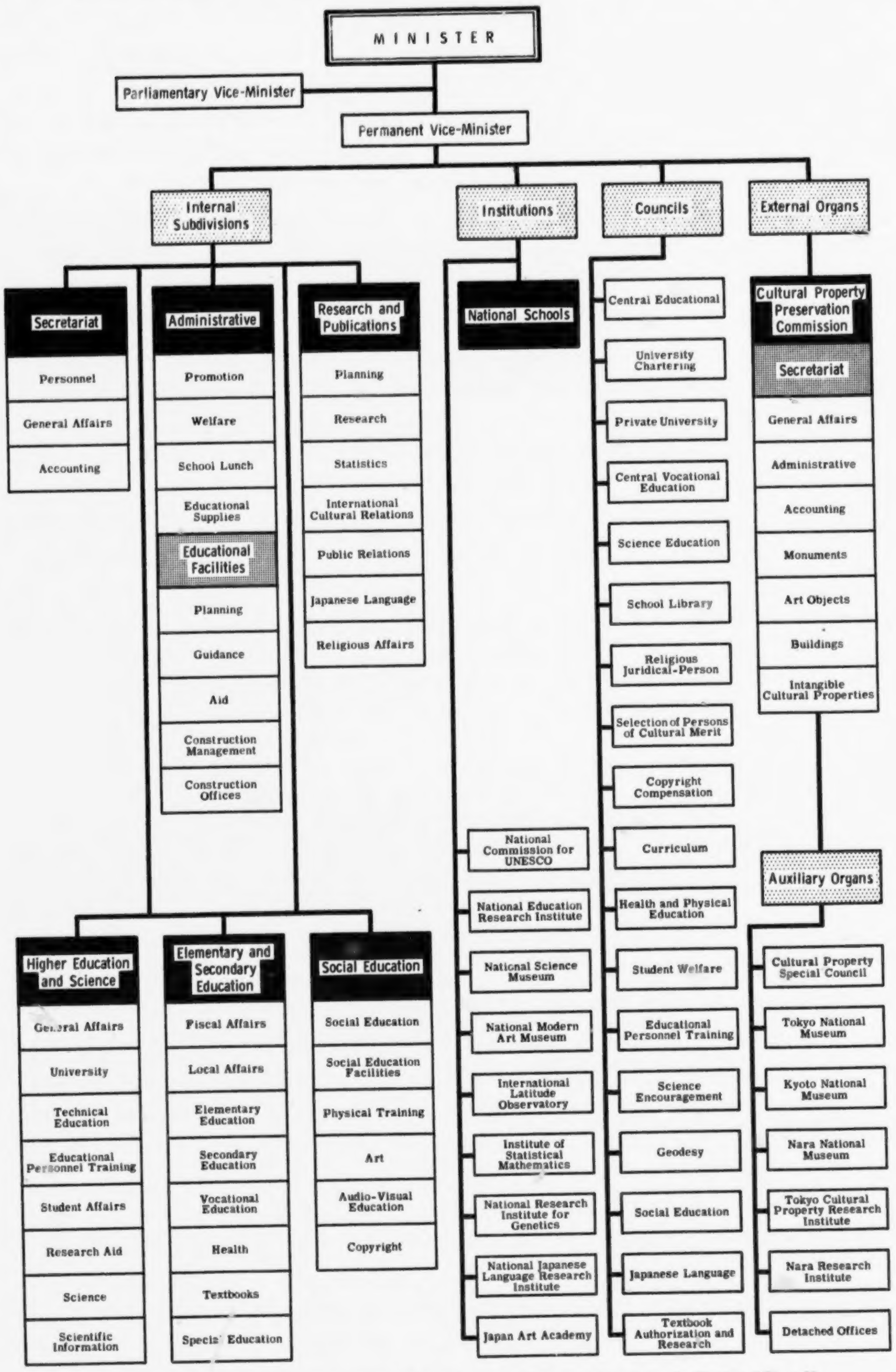
[14] SCAP, CIE, op. cit., vol. II, p. 2–3.

Chart VII.—Organization of the Ministry of Education in Japan, 1957[1]


MINISTER
Parliamentary Vice-Minister
Permanent Vice-Minister
Internal Subdivisions
Institutions
Councils
External Organs
Secretariat
Personnel
General Affairs
Accounting
Administrative
Promotion
Welfare
School Lunch
Educational Supplies
Educational Facilities
Planning
Guidance
Aid
Construction Management
Construction Offices
Research and Publications
Planning
Research
Statistics
International Cultural Relations
Public Relations
Japanese Language
Religious Affairs
Higher Education and Science
General Affairs
University
Technical Education
Educational Personnel Training
Student Affairs
Research Aid
Science
Scientific Information
Elementary and Secondary Education
Fiscal Affairs
Local Affairs
Elementary Education
Secondary Education
Vocational Education
Health
Textbooks
Special Education
Social Education
Social Education
Social Education Facilities
Physical Training
Art
Audio-Visual Education
Copyright
National Schools
National Commission for UNESCO
National Education Research Institute
National Science Museum
National Modern Art Museum
International Latitude Observatory
Institute of Statistical Mathematics
National Research Institute for Genetics
National Japanese Language Research Institute
Japan Art Academy
Central Educational
University Chartering
Private University
Central Vocational Education
Science Education
School Library
Religious Juridical-Person
Selection of Persons of Cultural Merit
Copyright Compensation
Curriculum
Health and Physical Education
Student Welfare
Educational Personnel Training
Science Encouragement
Geodesy
Social Education
Japanese Language
Textbook Authorization and Research
Cultural Property Preservation Commission
Secretariat
General Affairs
Administrative
Accounting
Monuments
Art Objects
Buildings
Intangible Cultural Properties
Auxiliary Organs
Cultural Property Special Council
Tokyo National Museum
Kyoto National Museum
Nara National Museum
Tokyo Cultural Property Research Institute
Nara Research Institute
Detached Offices

1/ Adapted from: Ministry of Education. Education in Japan, Graphic Presentation: 1957. Tokyo, the Ministry, 1957. p. 28.

parts of the country to supervise elementary and secondary schools were abolished.[15]

Ministry officials who had not necessarily been experts in education were given an opportunity to upgrade themselves. Some were sent on U. S. Government grants to the U. S. where they visited school systems and administrative offices at the various levels. Some had opportunity to assume new roles by leading teacher conferences and workshops held throughout Japan. The trend was toward greater professionalization of Ministry personnel and new methods in the field of human relations.

In January 1950, in an effort to encourage the civil service system, the National Personnel Authority gave Government personnel (particularly bureau and section chiefs of the various ministries) a battery of tests to measure their professional knowledge and ability. As a result, the Ministry of Education shifted certain section chiefs.[16]

Critics argued that as long as there was a loyal party-member as Minister of Education neutrality of educational policy could not be realized. During the first few years of the Occupation, educators and professional men usually served in the post of Minister of Education. They included such leaders as Tamon Maeda, Yoshishige Abe, Kotaro Tanaka,[17] Seiichiro Takahashi, Tatsuo Morito, Yasumaro Shimojo, and Teiyu Amano. Their tenure in office tended to be short and continuity of policy and permanence of influence seemed difficult. As in many other countries, political considerations played their role and the post of Minister gradually tended toward a political one.

Private School Law.—In addition to the Board of Education Law and the Ministry of Education Establishment Law, another legal step toward decentralization related to private education which formerly had been under Ministry control. Under the Private School Law[18] of December 1949, the Government set about to "promote their sound development by esteeming their autonomy."

The law provided for setting up in each Prefecture a 10- to 20-man private school council to consider administrative problems relating to private elementary and secondary schools. This council was to be appointed by the governor, partly on recommendation of the local private school organization, if the latter had two-thirds of the private schools in its membership, and partly on his own initiative from "persons of learning and experience." At the university level, the Minister appointed a 20-man private university council to serve under his jurisdiction and advise him on matters relating to private universities. Although he appointed the council, the Minister was required to select two-thirds of the members from a list of teachers, presidents, and directors of university corporations which was prepared by the private university association. Private school officials at the various levels were to consult the appropriate council to get permission to make changes in their programs or practices.

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[15] Walter C. Eells, Decentralization of Control of Education in Japan, *School and Society*, 73 : 390, June 23, 1951.

[16] Loc. cit.

[17] Later he became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

[18] SCAP, CIE, op. cit., vol. II, p. 171–94.

Thus, some control power adhered to the governors, who were required to approve the establishment or abolition of private schools and authorize the textbooks used in local schools under their jurisdiction. At the same time, they were required to consult the council before taking action. Likewise, the Ministry retained some jurisdiction over private universities, including that on establishment or abolition, addition of graduate schools or facilities, and quotas for the number of students. At the same time, it, too, was required to consult the private university council before taking action.

The Government exercises some control over private schools in Japan through its method of subsidies or loans granted for construction and operation. It also subsidizes the private school personnel mutual aid association so that private school teachers receive nearly as many benefits and as much protection as the public school teachers.

The Present Period

School boards.—Extending the school board plan to 10,000 cities, towns, and villages without trying to consolidate nearby communities into a single district served by a single board seemed an unnecessary expense to many observers including those on the Second U. S. Mission. The boards so far had not been adequately supported by the public. There were recommendations for revision of the Board of Education Law. Some groups favored extension of school boards; others opposed it.

In an effort to assess the extent to which the school boards fulfilled their function of placing school control at the grass roots, the staff and students in educational administration in the Department of Education of Tokyo University conducted a public opinion survey on attitudes toward boards in a town of 12,000 and in a city of 73,000. This poll came after the election in 1952. In answer to the question, "Why did you vote for the person you did as member of the Board of Education?" about 25 percent of the people in the town and 15 percent in the city said they did so because of personal ties or a sense of obligation to the candidate. Some 10 percent in each place said they did not know or gave irrelevant answers. In the town, 45.9 percent and in the city 54.1 percent said they had voted as they had because of the qualities of the candidate such as his personality, ability, education, and teaching experience. Roughly half the people, it was assumed, voted on the basis of reasonable knowledge. The other half, it was discovered, had not heard of the board of education or did not know what its purposes were.[19]

About this time the Government wanted the Diet to pass a law providing for payment by the Ministry of all instead of half of the salaries of local teachers. This plan was not enacted by the Diet.

The local boards ran into financial difficulties. Budgets for schools were hard pressed to keep up with growing needs. Superintendents trained in such work were difficult to find. In spite of the problems, evidence does not indicate that education suffered in quality.[20]

Finally, a bill making the boards appointive instead of elective was brought before the Diet. Despite opposition, the bill was passed the day before adjournment—June 3, 1956. It went into effect the following October. A companion bill to recentralize textbook control was defeated.

Chart VIII on p. 88 presents a picture of the channels of control for education under the new law. The law retained the idea of boards of education but changed their method of selection. They now were to be appointed by the head of the local Government agency—the headman, mayor, or governor—with approval of the local assembly. The law provided that boards were to be reduced in size: Prefectural from 7 to 5 members and local from 5 to 3 with 1 member from the assembly in each case. In addition no single political party was to be represented by a majority on the board. Financial power was transferred from the boards to the local political heads. This power included the right to draw up the annual education budget, acquire and dispose of educational assets, and conclude contracts for educational projects. The law reserved to the Minister certain veto power over the acts of prefectural and local boards. If he determined that a board lacked justice and fairness to a considerable degree, he could demand that it take nec-

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[19] See: Seiya Munakata to Eiichi Mochida, Senryo Kyoiku Seisaku to Minshuka no Yojire—Kyoiku-iin Senkyo o Chushin-ni, *Shiso,* 349: 22–34, Showa 28, 7 gatsu. [Seiya Munakata and Eiichi Mochida. Educational Policy of the Occupation and the Resulting Twist of Democracy—Problems Concerning the Election of the Boards of Education. *Thought*: 349: 22–34, July 1953.]

[20] See: Daishiro Hidaka, The Aftermath of Educational Reform, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 308: 154, November 1956.

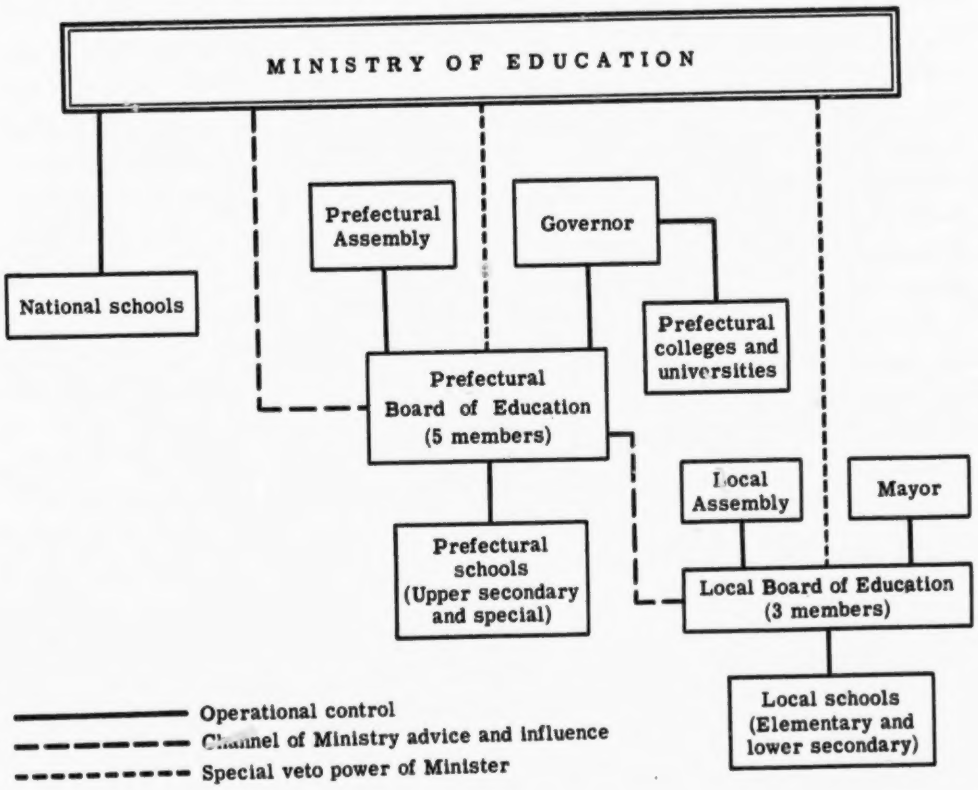
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
National schools
Prefectural Assembly
Governor
Prefectural colleges and universities
Prefectural Board of Education (5 members)
Local Assembly
Mayor
Prefectural schools (Upper secondary and special)
Local Board of Education (3 members)
Local schools (Elementary and lower secondary)
Operational control
Channel of Ministry advice and influence
Special veto power of Minister

Chart VIII.—Channels of educational control, 1956

essary corrective measures. The appointment of superintendents by the prefectural boards was to be approved by the Minister of Education, and the appointment of local superintendents was to be approved by the Prefectural Board.

The Ministry of Education could now "positively advise, guide, and help Prefectures, and they in turn [could] help municipalities." [21] "The new legislation," said Minister Kiyose, "clarifies the lines of command in the educational structure." [22]

The functions of the boards are now primarily advisory. They work to gain support for adequate education budgets for the needs of the communities and, in general, seek to promote the cause of education. They also participate in negotiations with the teachers union. By law, teachers are not permitted to strike. As teachers do elsewhere, the teachers of Japan use various methods to bring particular matters to the attention of authorities.

Board members are eligible for reappointment. Chairmen of prefectural boards have formed a national council, which, according to reports, is an effort to preserve the "neutrality of education."

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[21] Ministry of Education, *Education in 1955; Annual Report of the Ministry of Education* (Tokyo, the Ministry, March 1957), p. 127.

[22] Japanese Embassy, *Japan Report* (Washington, the Embassy, July 15, 1956), p. 10.

In 1955, the structure of the Ministry of Education was substantially the same as that shown in Chart VII on p. 84 after the Ministry of Education Establishment Law was passed in 1949. The number of staff members had decreased to 1,039 from the 1,463 after the 1949 reorganization. In 1956–57 when the Ministry began to screen textbooks, the staff was increased by some 40 textbook examiners. In most instances, the top positions are held by law graduates of Tokyo University. One Ministry official reported to the author that as the universities graduate students in the field of education, it can be expected that some of them will be employed by the Ministry. Included among the recruits today are graduates of various universities.

Advisory councils.—Of the major advisory councils, the highest is the Central Educational Council. This Cabinet body was formed in June 1952 shortly after the Peace Treaty as JERC's successor. At the beginning it authorized a representative of the JTU to attend as an observer and to voice JTU views by 1957 its sessions were closed. The council consists of 15 men including some presidents of public and private universities, a representative of the press, and 3 representatives of business. Former Minister of Education, Teiyu Amano, was appointed chairman. Major educational problems either are raised by the council or are referred to it for study and recommendations. For example, the Minister refers to the council such problems as those relating to the textbook system and the junior college program. As is customary in relations with advisory bodies, the Minister need not take the council's advice nor is he required to refer policy to it. Rather, the council is a two-way channel: On one hand it helps the Minister and the Government by consideration of problems referred to it as a basis for making policy recommendations. On the other, it considers educational problems on its own initiative and makes recommendations which it believes should be brought to the attention of the Minister and the Government.

The Central Educational Council is an overall type of advisory body in the field of education. There also are advisory groups of a more specialized nature. An example is the Curriculum Council. Its membership includes deans and professors from schools of education and other administrators and teachers. Its deliberations may relate to curriculum matters in general or to more specific curriculum matters such as morals courses, social studies, technical education in USS, and correspondence education.

Ministry policy.—Suggestions or requests for policy determination come to the Minister from many sources—the various advisory councils, Diet members, Ministry staff, and other interested groups or individuals. By way of example, the development of a policy within the Ministry might start at the section level. The proposal then might be considered by other sections within the bureau to assure that related interests are taken into account. There might be a meeting of the section chiefs held under the chairmanship of the bureau director. The bureau director then might present the proposal at a Ministry level meeting. Here the 5 bureau directors, 3 chiefs of the Secretariat, the Director of the Secretariat of the Cultural Property Preservation Commission, and the Director of the Secretariat of the National Commission for UNESCO meet under the chairmanhip of the Permanent Vice-Minister of Education. Sometimes the Minister attends as does his Parliamentary Vice-Minister. These meetings are held twice a week. From them come policy recommendations for action by the Minister. When he has approved a recommendation, it may be cast in the form of a bill and transmitted to the Diet for consideration. In other cases the matter may be one which can be decided by the Minister. When he has approved such a policy proposal, it may be issued as a Ministry order or instruction.

Supervision.—The teacher consultants at the prefectural level in general are teachers with at least 5 years of experience who hold the first-class certificate. Many have had specialized training for their work. Their positions sometimes lead to positions as principal. The teacher consultant usually is a part of the guidance section of the secretariat of the prefectural board of education with his office at the headquarters of the board or in a detached office in the Prefecture.

In 1957 in Ehime Prefecture, there were 11 teacher consultants for some 10,000 teachers; in Hiroshima 16 for about the same size teaching force; in Okayama there were 18 serving some 12,000 teachers. Most are assigned according to subject-matter field; they may handle their particular subject matter work at the 3 levels of schooling. Sometimes their geographic area is large and a visit to a particular outlying prefectural school may take 3 days and train, bus, or boat transportation or some combination. Cities and larger towns often have their own teacher consultant staff stationed with the local board of education. In Okayama Prefecture, for example, Okayama City had 4 and Kurashiki City had 3.

The primary responsibility of the teacher consultant is visiting schools for the purpose of assisting the staff. In his visits he may make suggestions on what he has observed. He sends a written general report of his observations on the school to the superintendent. His work includes leadership in workshops, participation in discussion meetings for inservice training of teachers in his subject field, assisting teachers in working out courses of study based on the Ministry's suggested courses of study, and sometimes he edits a Prefectural educational journal in his subject matter specialty. He screens proposed texts and reference books for the USS which have not yet had Ministry approval. In the school year 1956–57, the teacher consultants in English for Hiroshima and Ehime Prefectures reportedly read and evaluated some 50-odd English books prepared for the USS level in their respective Prefectures.

An actual 2-week schedule of the Hiroshima Prefecture teacher consultants for June 2–13, 1957 is presented in table 3 below to indicate the scope of activities carried on by the 16-man staff of 1 each in national language, social studies, mathematics, science, art, music, crafts, student guidance, English, industrial education, commercial education, agricultural education, homemaking, and personnel, and 2 in physical education.

Table 3.—Schedule of activities for 16 teacher consultants in Hiroshima Prefecture Board of Education: June 2–13, 1957 [1]

June 1957	Type of activity
2 (Sunday)	Meeting of the Federation of Future Homemakers of the Prefecture. [There are 10,000 Future Homemakers Club members in the Prefecture. Their clubs are affiliated with the national organization, modelled after a similar organization in the US.]
3–5	Sex education meetings at a USS on Monday, at a LSS on Tuesday, and at an elementary school on Wednesday. [These were 3-hour illustrated lectures by a doctor.]
5	Study meeting for teachers of vocational guidance, Yoshima USS. [To improve their guidance, USS teachers were learning to give tests: Personality, vocational interest, aptitude, and intelligence.]
7	Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Federation of Vocational Education for LSS.
8	Kure District part-time USS meeting. [Teachers of the part-time USS met to discuss teaching methods and student guidance programs.]
9 (Sunday)	Agricultural education research meeting. [A vocational agricultural teachers association met to set up its program for the year.]
10	Chugoku Region textbook exhibition conference. [Officials of the Ministry of Education met with representatives from boards of education from several Prefectures to explain rules for selection of new textbooks at the forthcoming textbook exhibition.] Education for international understanding study meeting, Yoju Elementary School in Kure City. [This school is a model school for education to promote international understanding.]
11	Regional textbook conference with Ministry officials.
12	General meeting of the part-time USS in 3 locations; Study meeting of the Attached LSS [laboratory school] to Hiroshima University. School Horticultural and Agricultural practice study meeting at the Kaijo Agricultural Research Institute; and school library meeting.
13	Regional textbook conference with Ministry officials, Kabe Primary School.

[1] Translated from schedule on the blackboard in the Prefecture Teacher Consultants Office, Hiroshima City.

Supervision in the local school continues to be primarily the responsibility of the principal. As a result of Ministry planning, a nationwide program for teacher efficiency rating was announced in 1957, with the local school head being responsible for the rating of the teachers in his school. As of the beginning of the 1958 school year, the prefectural and local boards of education throughout Japan, on Ministry order, instituted the efficiency rating system. Under this system principals are required to make subjective evaluations of their teachers on the basis of their classroom work, their character, and their day-to-day record. When transmitted to the boards of education, these reports form the basis for board personnel action, such as promotion or dismissal. The reasons held by the Government for adopting this procedure were that it was an extension to teachers of a long standing system of rating of civil servants.

Universities come under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Higher Education and Science in the Ministry. This bureau has inspectors and part-time inspection committees. Its primary responsibility is to foster coordination between the Ministry and universities and to provide guidance and assistance on matters relating to higher education.

School finances.—Since there are no specific local school taxes and the National Government collects nearly all taxes, it is obviously necessary for the central Government to aid local schools financially. The normal practice from 1940 until 1945 had been for the National Government to pay out of revenue from income taxes a subsidy of one half the teachers' salaries to the local governments. The Local Finance Equalization Grant in 1949 eliminated such direct aid to schools, and substituted for it indirect aid on the basis of an objective formula and as a part of a general-purpose national equalization grant to prefectures and municipalities on the basis of need. As a result of this change, local schools claimed to have suffered. So in 1953 the Government supplemented the Equalization Grants by a return to the former fiscal practice of direct subsidies to schools for teachers' salaries, with the passage of the Law Concerning the National Treasury's Share of Compulsory Education Expenses. Succeeding laws provided for a variety of specific "promotional" grants to local governments or to individual schools to aid them in attaining some specific object, usually one of major interest to the Government, such as the improvement of science education, extending the school lunch program, organizing correspondence courses, building special schools for the handicapped, constructing residences for teachers in isolated areas, and reconstructing worn-out public elementary and LSS school buildings. As direct subsidies increased in amount, the proportion provided by the Local Finance Equalization Grant decreased, though it continued as an important source of revenue to local schools.

Tax monies for school purposes thus move from the central Government to prefectures and municipalities; prefectures on their part also subsidize city, town, and village schools. At the compulsory level, the elementary and LSS established and operated by the municipalities, the cost of teachers' salaries is shared equally by the National Government and the prefectural government. The local government takes care of the many operating expenses other than salaries.

The National Government is directly responsible for supporting "National schools"—the 72 national universities, the 8 national USS, and 20 hospitals attached to the universities—and for assisting private schools. When these costs are added to those of the subsidies to local schools and of the Local Equalization Grant, the proportion of the total National expenditures for education supplied by the central Government amounts to almost 50 percent.

Prefectures are by law responsible for establishing and supporting USS and special schools for the blind and deaf within their borders. These are partially subsidized by national funds; they are primarily paid for by the prefectural government out of its own tax receipts, loans, rentals, and receipts from prefectural properties, as well as school tuition and examination fees charged by the USS and prefectural colleges or universities. In addition, the prefecture with the aid of matching funds from the central Government must pay the teachers' salaries of local compulsory schools within its jurisdiction.

Municipalities pay the remaining costs of operating their compulsory schools, and for the activities of the Citizens' Public Halls. Funds are raised from municipal taxes, loans, rentals and fees, and receipts from municipal properties, supplemented by National equalization grants and subsidies.

Where these do not meet the costs of education, deficits often are made up by parents through their PTA's. For those in need who do not receive educational allowances under the Daily Life Protection Law there has recently come into operation a national subsidy for free distribution of compulsory education textbooks, and one for the provision of free school lunches.[24]

National income has been increasing year by year as Japan's economy recovered. The percentage of such income spent on education has increased at a more rapid rate than the income itself; since 1947 the expenditures for education have increased more rapidly than have total public expenditures. This may be attributed largely to increased costs and also to the expansion of educational opportunity at all levels.

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[24] Ministry of Education, *Education in 1956, Annual Report of the Ministry of Education* (Tokyo, the Ministry, March 1958), p. 100–101.

CHAPTER IV

Curriculums, Teaching Methods, and Textbooks

WHAT IS TAUGHT in the classroom and how it is taught serve as something of a mirror of the educational system itself. This chapter presents a panoramic view related to curriculums, teaching methods, and textbooks throughout Japan's modern educational system.

Initial Modernization Epoch

Curriculums

The first Japanese Code of Education appeared in 1872. The second one, drafted by Fujimaro Tanaka and David Murray, appeared in 1879. Neither came into full effect. In 1880, the code was revised and implemented.[1] It established the basis for the curriculum of the elementary schools:

> The elementary school shall be a school in which elementary education is given to children in the following branches of study: the elements of morals, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, etc.; and according to local conditions, linear drawing, singing, gymnastics, etc., and . . . especially for the benefit of female pupils, some other branches of instruction, such as sewing, shall also be added.[2]

Morals had been included in the two earlier codes. As is to be noted in the second one, this subject had not been singled out for special attention.[3] It was in the third code in 1880 that morals headed the list of required subjects to be taught.

In 1886 when Minister of State for Education Mori drew up the series of ordinances relating to education, morals was a required area of study for lower and higher elementary schools and for middle and normal schools. For the elementary level, the morals course was to consist of "simple facts, relating to the virtue of both ancient and modern sages in this and other countries, as are deemed suitable to, and easily comprehended by, children. Rules of conduct should also be taught; and the teacher should set a constant practical example of good conduct to the children."[4] These concepts had their parallel in the educational systems of many countries. In Japan, Confucian tradition on the moral and ethical training of children was reflected in the interpretation placed on morals and virtue.

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[1] Department of Education, *Japanese Code of Education: Revised (1880)* (Tokio, the Department, March 28, 1881), 14 p.

[2] Ibid., Article III, p. 1–2.

[3] Department of Education, *Japanese Code of Education (1879)* (Tokio, the Department, Dec. 28, 1879), Article II, p. 1–2.

The Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 stressed loyalty and filial piety. Morals became the core course in the curriculum. Included was the belief in the divine origin of Japan, the Imperial throne, and the people. It focused on orderly social behavior and obedience to the authority of the leaders. Government-approved morals textbooks, prefaced by the Imperial Rescript and interpretations relating to its precepts, were used in primary schools, and morals concepts were included in the educational program at the various levels.

After 1931, stress on the concept of individual subordination to the interests of the State was intensified. In 1937 when the World Federation of Education Associations was meeting in Tokyo, the Japanese concept of the morals course was presented by the Ministry of Education in a quotation from *Regulations Governing the Enforcement of the Elementary School Act*:

> The morals course is aimed at cultivating children's character and guiding their moral practice in accordance with the spirit of the Imperial Rescript on Education. . . .
>
> In the ordinary elementary school, such simple and easy instruction should be given as would properly help children in the practical application of filial piety, brotherly love, affection, diligence, respectfulness, modesty, fidelity, courage, and other virtues. As the course gradually develops, the application should be extended to the obligations to the State and the community, and efforts should be made to implant in the minds of the pupils loyalty and patriotism, to ennoble their character, to solidify their principles of life, to promote their progressive spirit and to heighten their sense of public morality.[5]

The subject matter in the early years consisted of fables, legends, and myths from the Shinto tradition. In later years it included stories of heroes from Japanese and world history. Between 1903 and World War II the textbooks were revised five times generally in the direction of increased nationalism: in 1903; in 1910, after the Russo-Japanese War; in 1918, after the first World War; in 1933, after the Manchurian Incident; and in 1941, in the early part of World War II. A Japanese scholar in the history of textbooks has divided the material in each of the five textbook revisions into the seven major subject areas as shown in table 4.

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[4] Department of Education, *Ordinances, Notifications, and Instructions Relating to Education* (Tokyo, the Department, [1887]), p. 90.

[5] The Japanese Preparatory Committee of Elementary Education Section, Moral Education in Elementary Schools in Japan, in: *Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations: Tokyo, Japan, August 2–7, 1937* (Tokyo, Japanese Education Association, World Conference Committee, 1938), vol. IV, p. 394–95.

Table 4.—Content in morals texts by year of textbook revision

Themes	Percentage of lessons				
	1903	1910	1918	1933	1941
Home	10.7	14.2	11.5	10.5	5.7
Individual	41.5	37.7	35.3	34.6	28.7
School	3.1	1.2	1.3	4.3	6.6
Society	27.1	24.1	27.6	25.3	13.9
National	15.1	17.9	18.6	19.8	37.8
International	0	0	0.6	0.6	1.6
Miscellaneous	2.5	4.9	5.1	4.9	5.7

Source: Tomitaro Karasawa, Changes in Japanese Education as Revealed in Textbooks, *Japan Quarterly*, 2: 373, July–September 1955.

As indicated in table 4, the morals texts in the first period stressed individual or personal morality relating to self-help, ambition, self-reliance, truthfulness, and conscientiousness. The next major emphasis was given to social morality—the common good, cooperation, and mutual sympathy. The *Ministry Teachers Manual for Elementary School Morals* of 1911 indicates how the moral maxims were to be handled after the 1910 revision. According to this manual, filial piety and ancestor worship were necessary to strengthening the foundation of national morality. Teachers were to take their classes to shrines on festival days. Before and after such trips, the teachers were to give presentations on piety so that the children would understand the significance of the occasions.[6] In the earlier texts, there were many illustrations in morals lessons drawn from the lives of heroes in other lands.

England headed the foreign list in the number of different figures considered. In the number of hours devoted to specific foreign heroes, leaders from the U. S. received particular attention. There were stories about Benjamin Franklin to illustrate the moral lessons on self-reliance, following the rules, the common good (2 lessons), work and virtue. Abraham Lincoln's life was used to illustrate the lessons on study (2 lessons), honesty, sympathy, and the freedom of man. George Washington's life illustrated 3 lessons on honesty, magnanimity, and modesty.

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[6] William Woodward, Religion-State Relations in Japan, *Contemporary Japan*, 25: 94, September 1957.

In the revision of 1910, illustrations from the lives of foreigners dropped off to about a third. In the 1941 revision, Edward Jenner—of smallpox vaccine fame—was the one foreigner included. A list of the persons most commonly mentioned or discussed in morals textbooks in 1941, compiled in 1957 by a class in education at Tokyo University, included:

Emperor Meiji, first Emperor of modern Japan and a military-political leader; Sontoku Ninomiya, agrarian philosopher; Yozan Uesugi, philosopher-nationalist; Noboru Watanabe, anti-feudal advocate of Western learning and foreign commerce; Kiyomasa Kato, feudal warlord; Hideyoshi Toyotomi, military ruler who unified the country; Ekken Kaibara, educational philosopher; Kahei Takataya, merchant; Toju Nakae, philosopher; Masashige Kusunoki, loyalist who died in defense of the Emperor; Amaterasu Omikami, Sun Goddess; Prince Kitashirakawa, Imperial relative who was a military leader in the Sino-Japanese War; Edward Jenner, scientist; Mitsukuni Tokugawa, scholar and nationalist; Empress Meiji, humanitarian; Tsutomu Sakuma, patriot and advocate of modern defenses and Western learning; Kohei Kikuchi, hero in the Russo-Japanese War.

Besides morals, the required elementary school curriculum in prewar days included Japanese language, arithmetic, science, physical education, music, calligraphy, drawing, and handicrafts. Geography was added in the 4th, 5th, and 6th grades and national history in the 5th and 6th. Sewing for girls was the specialized vocational subject. It was introduced during the 4th grade. The curriculum of the higher elementary school added practical vocational subjects such as farming, fishing, commerce, and industry. There was domestic science for the girls.

By law, morals content was integrated into all subjects and played a predominant part in school life.[7] After the 1941 revision of textbooks, the course in the national language reportedly was second to the morals course in content related to nationalism and militarism. An average of 76.4 percent of the lessons in the national language for the 6 years of the elementary school was reported to be devoted to such content.[8] History books of this war period included lessons on the sacred origins of Japan and its national character. Geography books described Japan as a sacred land under the personal jurisdiction of the Emperor and related the destiny of Greater East Asia to Japan. Music was a medium for educating the youth to be loyal and patriotic—even as it is in many countries.

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[7] *Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations: Tokyo, Japan, August 2–7, 193*, vol. IV, p. 401–413.

[8] Tomitaro Karasawa, Changes in Japanese Education as Revealed in Textbooks, *Japan Quarterly*, 2: 381, July–September 1955.

A Japanese student, writing in prewar Japan about his early training, said: "During the six years of elementary and four years of middle school we were inspired with a spirit of loyalty and patriotism which has become almost a religion to me. . . . The stories of loyal and brave men were the greatest literature to us. . . ."

At the secondary level there were boys' middle schools, girls' high schools, and vocational schools, each with a specialized curriculum. The middle school—beginning of the academic training for the university—served only a small proportion of the school population. The subjects taught were morals, civics, Japanese language and Chinese classics, history, geography, a foreign language (English, German, French, or Chinese), mathematics, science, technical studies, drawing, music, practical work (such as woodworking and gardening), and physical education. The student took from 30 to 35 class hours a week, with few electives. Most of the courses were from 1 to 3 hours a week; exceptions were Japanese language, Chinese classics, and foreign language, which were from 6 to 9 hours per week.

The girls' high school offered roughly the same curriculum as the boys' middle school though there were fewer hours of foreign language and no Chinese classics. The extra time was devoted to sewing and domestic science. At the secondary level teaching methods consisted of lectures, reading of texts, and recitations. Most subjects were considered drill subjects, and pupils were expected to learn by rote.

There were exceptions to the standard pattern. Among them were such schools as Jiyu Gakuen (Freedom School) in Tokyo—a private institution which continued to interpret democratic principles during the war; the Seijo Gakuen (Seijo School); and some attached primary schools to public normal schools at Nagano, Chiba, and Nara which practiced the experimentalist philosophy of John Dewey. Music and art offered opportunity for creativity on the part of the students. There were two educational movements which might be called forerunners of the postwar social studies course.

One in the northeastern region of Tohoku in the 1920's was called the Life Composition (Seikatsu Tzuzurikata) Movement. It encouraged children to study the living conditions of their families and report on them in compositions which were used as the basis for class discussions. This method was intended to help in the development of the child's personality and at the same time help the teacher understand the home conditions under which the child lived.

The other movement was led by the Education Science Research Association, a society started in 1936 by scholars and teachers in various fields to study education from the historical and social point of view. Its stated aim was to make the school a means of reconstructing society. During the war period these movements were suppressed by the military, and some of the teachers were arrested.[9]

The elementary school was in session 5½ days a week at least 235 days a year. The schedule increased as the youngsters climbed the educational ladder. First-graders were in school 23 hours a week. Sixth-graders had 33 hours or 6 hours a day 5 days a week and 3 hours on Saturday. The curriculums of elementary and secondary school were subject-centered. Basic to the program was the theory that there is a fixed body of knowledge to be mastered in order to be properly educated.

Teaching Methods

In general the methods were formal. There was a basic uniformity throughout the country; teacher preparation, textbook production, and inspection were under central control. The examination system helped to encourage the concentration on rote learning.

The teaching methods reflected the traditional teacher-pupil relationship with the teacher as master and authority and the pupil as disciple. The teacher taught acceptance of authority and was obligated to be concerned for the well-being of his students. Often a close parental relationship developed which extended throughout the lives of the teacher and his pupil.

Both the teacher-pupil relationship and the teaching methods were congenial to the traditions in Japanese culture. The teacher was able to handle large classes with a minimum of confusion. Methods used were not considered oppressive. A prewar student of the author described his education in these terms, using English as a foreign language:

> Simply playing and obediently learning were all my daily life, and I had not time to indulge in imagination and childish meditation. Therefore my character and disposition are simple and obedient, and I was treated with affection by every kind of people.

The relationship which the pupil had with his teacher provided guidance for him in his daily living. The standardization in teaching methods and in curriculums was not unlike that in various European countries. A class in the same subject at the same grade level in schools in different parts of the country well might be studying at the same place in the same text, since the texts and the teachers' manuals were the same in each instance. The standardization meant that the lessons were not necessarily directly related to the life of the children in a particular community. Naturally much time was spent in mastery of the national language.

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[9] *Yomiuri Shimbun*, March 29, 1955.

Few schools had libraries of their own and supplementary reference works. The major source of information was the textbook. The teacher's manual accompanying the textbook prescribed the method for handling the subject including the areas to stress and questions to ask.

Textbooks

On his second trip to the U. S., in 1867, Yukichi Fukuzawa purchased a large number of books. He bought dictionaries and texts in geography, history, law, economics, mathematics, and the like. For the most part, these were the first texts from the U. S. to enter Japan. Fukuzawa used them in his Keio school and commented concerning them:

> This use of American text books in my school was the cause of the adoption all over the country of American books for the following ten years or more. Naturally when students from my school, in turn, became teachers in various parts of the land, they used the texts they themselves had studied. It is not difficult then to see why those I had selected became the text books of that day.[10]

In 1885, Mori brought textbooks under the control of the Ministry of Education and required that all be officially authorized. Some continued to be privately produced, and others were produced in the Ministry. In 1903 there was evidence that some private publishers may have been attempting to bribe some of the members of the prefectural textbook selection committees to adopt their texts. Some committee members were tried for corruption. The Ministry had been interested since about 1894 in having a national system for textbooks. After the trial, a State textbook system was adopted. The Ministry now compiled the texts in morals, Japanese history, and geography, and the national language readers and required their use. Other texts required Ministry authorization. This change also resulted in reducing textbook prices as much as 70 percent while the quality of paper and the printing improved.[11]

Over the years a systematic series of State textbooks was developed for each subject. For the elementary level they were compiled, published, and distributed by the Ministry. After a manuscript was compiled by the appropriate Ministry section, it required approval by a board of textbook investigation composed of about 20 people representing the professions, business, the Army, the Navy, and professional education. In the 1941 revision of language texts, the military representatives required the inclusion of items which were sympathetic to their purposes.[12]

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[10] *The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa*, trans. Eiichi Kiyooka. (Tokyo, Hokuseido Press, 1947, 3d ed., rev.), p. 212.

[11] Baron Dairoku Kikuchi, *Japanese Education* (London. John Murray, 1909), p. 327-29.

At the secondary level and in most of the technical and vocational fields, the Ministry required authors to submit manuscripts for review. After approval, they could be published. At the university level, the ministry had texts reviewed after publication, and the Government banned the ones it did not consider satisfactory.

Democratization Epoch

The Early Period

Curriculums.—At the time the Occupation began, the Japanese educational world had been pretty well isolated for some years from contact with teachers and educators from most of the world. In its recommendations concerning curriculum revision, the U. S. Education Mission suggested starting with "the interests of the pupils, enlarging and enriching those interests through content whose meaning is intelligible to the pupils . . . in a particular environment." [13]

After the initial negative phase of deleting from the curriculum what were considered by the Occupation authorities to be militaristic and ultranationalistic elements, the Ministry and CIE began working on the problems involved in revising the program of courses and their content. The Ministry of Education assembled from its School Education Bureau and its Textbooks Bureau a new Curriculum Committee charged with revising the curriculum. At first the committee followed the traditional pattern based on the idea of a fixed body of knowledge to be decided upon by the Ministry. This plan was not found acceptable. A series of seminars were held in which SCAP advisers presented other methods of curriculum construction. By the beginning of the school year in April 1947, a new program of studies for elementary and secondary levels was ready to be put into effect. The number of different required courses was reduced to enable students to concentrate on fewer subjects. At the secondary level the same quality curriculum was to be offered in girls' high, youth, and vocational schools as in other secondary schools.

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[12] Karasawa, op. cit., p. 380.

[13] *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan,* (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 11. (Department of State Publication 2579. Far Eastern Series 11.)

Certain changes in the content gave a new direction to learning. For example, in the teaching of the Japanese language, instead of starting with the cursive syllabary (kata kana), first-grade readers began with the more common flowing syllabary (hiragana). The number of Chinese characters which an elementary student was expected to learn was reduced from several thousand to five hundred.

An effort was made to have story materials tie in closely to the interests and activities of children. Less time was provided for calligraphy—the beautiful brush writing—which formerly had been studied through the program. Domestic science, which had been required for girls throughout most of the elementary and secondary curriculum, was reduced to 2 years in the elementary schools and made elective for the rest of the school career. Instead of requiring a foreign language (often English which, like other foreign languages, was found to be nonessential in the careers of many), it was made optional. Health education was included in the curriculum.

Two years later (early in 1949), the first courses of study for elementary and secondary levels were revised and expanded by Japanese educators with the assistance of U. S. advisers. It was intended at the time that the 1949 revision would be the final one at the national level since local boards of education were to start assuming responsibility for texts in their areas.

Probably the most controversial break with the past curriculum was the elimination of the separate courses in morals, geography, and history, and their replacement by an integrated course called social studies. This course represented a new departure rather than a lumping together of the former courses. This course was intended to serve as a means—along with other aspects of the curriculum—by which a sense of morality might be developed along democratic lines. It was to educate for effective citizenship.

It was required at the various levels through the twelfth grade. At the elementary level it consisted of units built around the immediate environment of the child—home, school, and community. At the lower secondary level the area of study was expanded to include the life of the Nation and foreign countries. Here the course—general social studies—was to utilize the problem approach and the problems were to be based on studies of the needs of young people in Japan. The course was designed to help children become acquainted with social organization, Government services, Japanese industries, the economic position of Japan and the place of foreign trade in it, the history of Japan, international relations, life in foreign countries, and modern life in general. Materials from geography, history, political science, sociology, and economics were to be used in working out solutions to problems. The system of 4 to 6 teaching units to a grade was used.

The social studies texts for LSS highlighted the careers of Japanese, of contemporary leaders in the world, and of such foreign born as Buddha, Christ, Aristotle, Galileo, Newton, Rousseau, Kant, Tolstoy, Gandhi, Edison, and Einstein. In many LSS, social studies became the core subject of the curriculum. At the upper secondary level, the student was required at the time to take two social studies courses out of a possible five: general social studies and either Japanese history, world history, human geography, or current problems.

In the early days of this program, there were very few teachers who had studied or taught social studies. This subject represented a shift from compartmentalized subject matter to the broad sweep of great movements, the interrelation of separate subjects, and the use of such information in daily living. Many teachers and parents felt that the emphasis on local materials, teacher-pupil planning, and the abandonment of an official text meant a weakening of the educational program.

Professional associations all over the country prepared and published resource units for use at various levels. Two of the social studies textbooks for secondary schools prepared by Japanese scholars were *The Story of the New Constitution* and a 2-volume *Primer of Democracy*. The Ministry wrote a modern history of Japan called *Kuni no Ayumi* (Progress of the Country) as a social studies text. It was eventually published, but not widely used, though the books on the Constitution and on democracy were used by millions.

In the LSS, the required number of hours of study per week changed from 35 to 26 with additional time for an elective course and 4 hours of home room and club activity. The study included social studies, Japanese language, Japanese history, mathematics, general science, music, arts and handicrafts, physical education, and vocational or homemaking education. Many Japanese were concerned that electives might reduce quality.

The various science courses were integrated into a general science course and the various separate mathematics courses became a general mathematics course. Japanese language, formerly treated as grammar and literature, was to be taught to develop reading, speaking, listening, and writing skills for use in communication. English began to be taught by the oral method using such devices as tape recordings, dramatization of stories and poems, class conversations, and the like. Physical education shifted from emphasis on calisthenics and formal drill to group games and organized sports.

At the upper secondary level, there was greater latitude. The school might offer toward the 85 units necessary for graduation, some 30 subjects in fields of national language, social studies, mathematics, science, health, arts, music, and foreign language. In addition there were more than 100 vocational courses. Such courses represented the general range; a single USS did not offer all of these subjects.

The required 38 units of general education included: National language 9, social studies 10, science 5, mathematics 5, and physical education and health 9.

According to the Minister of Education, the five major reforms in curriculum were:

> 1. Small divisions of subjects were abolished and replaced by greater course areas; for example, geography, history, and civics were integrated into new course called social studies.
>
> 2. In the lower and upper secondary schools the subjects were divided into elective and compulsory. Especially in the upper secondary, where broad scope was given to a free choice of courses.
>
> 3. For the purpose of promoting independent and free study by the pupils, special periods called free study were assigned. These later developed into periods for "specific educational activities."
>
> 4. With emphasis on meeting the needs of the local community, teaching materials were selected from the local situation.
>
> 5. Along with the new emphasis on vocational education, the courses in it were revised, especially those in homemaking.[14]

To study the necessary reforms in curriculum, the Ministry established, in 1949, a Curriculum Council which was destined to be confronted with some of the most knotty problems of the changing educational system.

Teaching methods.—To aid teachers in putting the new program into effect, the Ministry issued and distributed in March 1947 a document entitled: *A Tentative Suggested Course of Study: General.* It set up procedures for teachers at all levels and suggested the theory that:

> The child must first of all set up his aim, make plans . . . to attain it, carry forward his learning therewith, and . . . reflect on the results of his efforts . . . real learning does not result from memorizing . . . facts. The teaching methodology must be contrived on the basis of the understanding

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[14] See: Ministry of Education, *Progress of Education Reform in Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1950), p. 13.

> that real knowledge and skill will never be acquired through other means than the child's activities . . . [it is necessary] to satisfy the wants springing from the purposes set up by the child himself.[15]

This general course of study was followed by a series of courses of study in different subjects to replace the teachers' guides which formerly had accompanied the textbooks. They provided an outline of suggested pupil experiences and teaching materials for each subject and grade, leaving the development of the course to the individual teacher. They stressed the importance of pupil activity by such means as group discussion and individual projects.

JERC accepted the new approach in teaching methods and defined them as follows:

> The present learning method is that, first, pupils' individual differences are recognized, and the ability, disposition, and interests of each pupil is considered; then they are provided with as many opportunities as possible for free learning, and they are instructed with consideration for the purposes of education and learning. The vital point . . . is that pupils are led to consider, contrive and take part spontaneously in learning activities each according to his own ability.[16]

So spoke the agency responsible for recommending policy. The Ministry on its part instructed teachers to study and observe the child and build upon his experiences, knowledge, and personality. The social studies expert, Professor Tokiomi Kaigo of Tokyo University, urged teachers to present their subjects in an interesting fashion, to offer practical lessons, to adopt broad and unbiased points of view, and to expose their students to as much social experience as possible. Phases of the program became familiar to every teacher and were widely used by some.

Student self-government was introduced. (See picture on p. 106). Activities such as newspapers, dramatics, clubs, and sports were encouraged and considered a part of the learning process.

The School Education Law of 1947 stated: "The principals and teachers of schools may, whenever they deem it necessary for the purpose of education, impose disciplinary punishment on students and pupils, as prescribed by their supervisory authorities. But there shall be no physical penalty."[17] In 1948 an official interpretation of the phrase "physical penalty" indicated that it not only included the slapping and kicking accepted in prewar days, but forcing a

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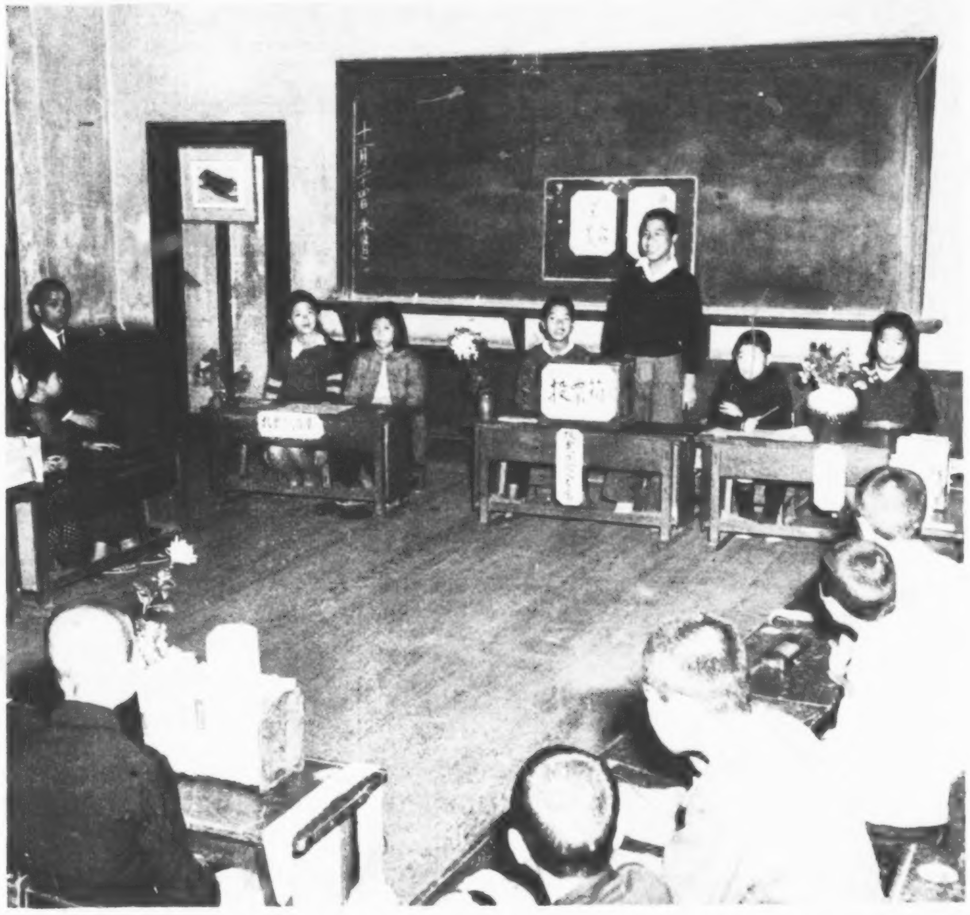
[15] As translated by the Ministry of Education for SCAP and quoted by James Isao Doi, *Educational Reform in Occupied Japan, 1945-1950: A Study of Acceptance of and Resistance to Institutional Change* (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1953), p. 291. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation.)

[16] Japanese Education Reform Council, *Education Reform in Japan: Present Status and Problems Involved* (Tokyo, the Council, 1950), p. 60.

[17] Ministry of Education, *Educational Laws and Regulations in Japan: School Education Law* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1955), Series 2, p. 2.



US Army photograph

Sign on board reads, "Elect wisely. Choose according to personality and knowledge." Elementary pupils elect officers—Tokyo.

pupil to sit still and erect or detaining him after school, if such a penalty caused him hunger and fatigue.[18]

At the secondary level, teaching devices such as the panel and round table discussion were used to supplement the lecture method and textbook. Audiovisual aids became commonplace. Class field trips were made by teachers and pupils.

Textbooks.—In late 1947, a new plan was devised for the issuance of textbooks. The Ministry of Education appointed a Textbook Committee which recommended the establishment of a Textbook Authorization Plan to be carried out by a new 16-man Textbook Authorization Committee.

Henceforth the Ministry was to make public a list of the textbooks needed in the schools. An individual writer or publisher could compile a textbook manuscript for any title appearing in the list and submit it to the Textbook Authorization Committee for review. The committee turned it over to 5 subject-matter specialists, whose names were kept anonymous and were drawn from a panel of 1,500 readers. These specialists independently graded the manuscript against the recommended course of study and the subject standards set up by the Textbook Committee. Their findings were reviewed by the scholars and experienced persons on the Textbook Authorization Committee. During the early part of the operation of the new system (1948 to 1950), SCAP also screened texts to insure that they did not violate existing directives concerning ultranationalism, militarism, or State Shinto. Initially almost 25 percent of the manuscripts approved by the Textbook Authorization Committee were turned down by SCAP. In July 1950, responsibility for approving texts was returned to the Ministry.

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[18] *Japan Times*, July 20, 1957.

Once the book was published, it was offered to the teachers, administrators, and other interested persons at annual textbook exhibits in prefectural centers throughout the country. There it was examined for local suitability and orders were placed through prefectural boards of education. The Ministry collected and transmitted the orders to publishers and allocated the appropriate amount

Courtesy of the Embassy of Japan

Preparing for a showing.

of paper to enable them to fill the orders. A variety of texts competed for adoption in the various subjects and at the various grade levels.

The Present Period

Elementary curriculum.—Class schedules range from a half-day session and 22 class hours a week for the 1st grade student to a full-day session and 34 class hours for the 6th grade. Teachers use filmstrips, sound movies, paper theater (kamishibai) posters, charts, and phonographs. Classes take field trips to local public services such as police, fire, postal, or other governmental units. They visit hospitals, museums, and natural beauty spots. Pupils in arithmetic, for example, may play store with play money or use money to buy tickets for trips.

Profile of an elementary school.—Practice in 1957 is illustrated specifically in table 5 by the weekly schedule in a relatively new and still expanding elementary school in a modest section of Tokyo. The school day ranged from 4 classes of 45 minutes each—8:15 a.m. to 12:00 noon—for 1st graders to 6 classes of 45 minutes each—8:15 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. for 6th graders. The class size was over 50 though there were 32 teachers (18 men and 14 women) for a student body of 1,230 students. This number included specialist teachers in homemaking, music, drawing, health, and business.

Table 5.—Weekly schedule for 6th grade

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Japanese	Arithmetic	Japanese	Arithmetic	Japanese	Arithmetic.
Science	Japanese	Arithmetic	Japanese	Arithmetic	Japanese.
Science	Social studies	Social studies	Science	Social studies	Social studies.
Japanese	Physical education.	Music	Science	Social studies	Self government assembly.
Music	Homemaking [1]	Physical education.	Drawing and handicrafts.	Physical education.	
Self-government	Homemaking				Club activities.[2]

[1] Homemaking is introduced in the 5th grade and is continued in the 6th. It usually consists of sewing, cooking, and simple home repairs.

[2] There were 20 clubs, including dramatics, music, and sculpture.

Source: Shirakawa Elementary School, Koto Ward, Tokyo, built in 1951.

The specific educational goals of the school are reflected in the following points:

1. To develop good health habits.
2. To promote love of our country, right understanding of our traditions, and at the same time, a spirit of internationalism.
3. To cultivate a scientific and logical mind, and the creative spirit.

Courtesy of Ministry of Education

4th grade budding artists: Higashi Horikiri Elementary School—Katsushika-ku, Tokyo.

4. To endeavor to raise moral standards.

5. To respect perseverance and achievement; also to respect labor and have a deep sense of responsibility.

6. To produce fine character through forming the children's sentiments.[19]

The reform recommendations (as indicated in the Tentative Suggested Course of Study: General) may be noted in the following modern guidance policy of the school:

1. We seek to discover the actual conditions of the children's lives.[20]

2. We consider carefully the character, personality, and environment of the children, and give suitable guidance for the growth of their minds and bodies.

3. We draw the teaching materials from the actual surroundings of the children, in the particular region in which they live.

4. We promote habits of self-discipline.

5. We arouse the children's interest in study, through activities with objects.

6. We build upon the children's experiences and follow the principle of learning by doing.

7. We encourage them to make known the results of their study through reports, oral and written, and other methods.

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[19] From a mimeographed outline in English entitled "An Outlook of Shirakawa Elementary School"—presented to the author in May 1957 at the time of his visit to the school.

[20] All new teachers are required to take a course with the responsible teacher consultant once a week for 6 months on the educational conditions and problems of the school district.

8. We teach the children how to study.

9. We cultivate a positive attitude on the part of the children toward homework.

10. We come into close contact with the children's home and provide practical guidance in out-of-school activities.

Secondary curriculum.—The lower secondary curriculum recommended by the Ministry is given in table 6. The schools in Japan tend to follow Ministry suggestions closely, even though they are not legally bound to do so. The figures given in table 6 represent suggested school hours per week in a 35-week minimum school year. Each school hour is 50 minutes long, not including time for changing classes.

Table 6.—Recommended minimum and maximum class hours per week for each subject in the lower secondary curriculum

Subjects	Weekly hours by year		
	1st	2d	3rd
Required:			
Drawing and handicrafts	2–3	2–3	2–3
Japanese language	5–8	5–8	4–6
Mathematics	4–5	3–5	3–5
Music	2–3	2–3	2–3
Physical education and health	3–5	3–5	3–5
Science	3–5	4–5	4–5
Social studies	4–6	4–8	5–9
Vocational and homemaking	3–4	3–4	3–4
Total: Minimum and maximum	[1] 26–29	[1] 26–29	[1] 26–29
Optional:			
Foreign language	4–6	4–6	4–6
Homeroom and club activities	2–5	2–5	2–5
Vocational and homemaking (specialized)	3–4	3–4	3–4
Additional subjects	1–6	1–6	1–6

[1] Maximum total is 29 hours rather than the total of the column.

Source: Adapted from: Ministry of Education. *Education in Japan, Graphic presentation: 1957.* Tokyo, the Ministry, 1957. p. 49.

The minimum school hours per week for required and optional subjects and extracurricular activities are 30. The weekly hours for the 8 required subjects range from a minimum of 26 to a maximum of 29 hours, leaving a maximum of 4 hours for electives. The student normally can choose only 1 elective from the offerings in specialized vocational or homemaking subjects, in foreign languages, or in other subjects given by the particular school. Homeroom and club activity periods of from 2 to 5 hours a week are scheduled on regular school time.

This curriculum has more requirements and fewer electives than ones at the same level in the U. S.; it is less rigid than it was in pre-war Japan. Then there were no electives and no homerooms. There were 34 to 35 hours of required subjects compared with the

Courtesy of Ministry of Education

Arithmetic by abacus: 4th grade, Akabane Elementary School—Minato-ku, Tokyo.

26 to 29 hours of required subjects and up to 4 hours of electives today.

Japanese language is an amalgamation of the subjects of grammar, literature, written composition, and calligraphy. Because of difficulty in mastering this tool of communication, it receives emphasis in each of the 3 years. In the new curriculum, practical language skills take precedence over the earlier formal literature and grammar approach. Social studies, including geography in the 1st year, Japanese history in the 2nd, and politics-economics-sociology in the 3rd year, rank second.

English is introduced for the first time at the lower secondary level. Nearly all schools offer it and 8 out of 10 students take it, starting at age 12 or 13. The number of hours devoted to it per week average 5 for each of the 3 years, or a sixth of the students' class time—about equal to the time spent on social studies. For the student heading toward the university, English is, in effect, a required subject, since the majority of the prefectures (34 out of 46) have included English questions in the entrance examinations for the USS.

English formerly was taught by the translation method. Since class size exceeds 50, the oral approach consists largely of group drill with standardized written assignments from texts for the remainder of the time. Much memorization is required. There is some evidence that the examination requirement in English has caused "a shift in emphasis to a formal and descriptive . . . English curriculum . . ."[21]

There is a constant shortage of English teachers making it difficult to have adequately trained persons in this field. Of the 62,000 LSS English teachers in 1956, a third were licensed to teach English. Of those licensed, more than 1 out of 4 held temporary or emergency certificates. Rural schools sometimes press science or physical education teachers into service as English teachers. Associations of English teachers are working to improve the Nation's English language training. The oral-aural methods presented by Charles Fries of the University of Michigan during his several trips to Japan culminated in a series of texts and teachers' aids in the subject. About 275 English teachers received training in modern linguistic research in universities in the U. S. between 1949 and 1953, under US Army sponsorship in the GARIOA scholarship program. After that more than a hundred additional teachers participated in short-term training programs in the U. S., under the auspices of the Department of State with the cooperation of the Office of Education. Of these, many have gone home to teach in the secondary schools or to become teacher consultants in English. As teacher consultants they organized in-service training sessions and persuaded others to experiment with the oral approach, audio-visual materials, and methods of arousing interest in their students.[22]

Table 7 on p. 113 presents the general or academic USS curriculum recommended by the Ministry of Education.

With slight modifications in the social studies, USS curriculum remains very much as it was at the end of the Occupation. A unit of credit is given for one school hour a week throughout the 35-week school year. The 85 credits required for graduation must include at least 38 hours of general education, including Japanese language, 3 subjects out of 4 in social studies (including civics), 2 subjects out of 4 in science, algebra and geometry, and 9 hours of health and physical training. Students in the college preparatory course must also take at least 6 units from among courses offered in the areas of arts and music, homemaking, and vocational training. Students majoring in vocational education must take over 30 units in this area. The college preparatory student may take 32 units of electives. With university entrance examinations staring him in the face, his course is fairly confined to the academic fields on which he will be examined, leaving little time for electives. The vocational

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[21] William C. Bryant, English Language Teaching in Japanese Schools, *Publication of the Modern Language Association of America*, 71 : 36, September 1956.

[22] Ibid., p. 35.

Table 7.—General (academic) upper secondary curriculum recommended by the Ministry of Education

Areas and subjects	Number of hour credits recommended	Areas and subjects	Number of hour credits recommended
Arts and music[1]	2 to 6	Science:	
Calligraphy		Biology Chemistry Geology Physics 2 out of 4 required	3 to 5
Crafts		Social studies:	
Fine arts		Civics—required Cultural geography Japanese history World history 2 out of 3 required.	3 to 5
Music		Vocational subjects:[1]	
Foreign language:		Agriculture	2 to 36
Course I	3 to 15	Commerce	2 to 8
Course II	2 to 4	Fishery science	2 to 20
Health and physical training—required[2]	9 to 11	Industry	7 to 25
Homemaking and domestic arts[1]	2 to 8	Additional electives	8 to 32
Japanese language:		Extracurricular activities (non-credit)	1 to 3
Course A—required	9 to 10		
Course B (advanced)	2 to 6		
Chinese classics	2 to 6		
Mathematics:			
Algebra and geometry—required	6 to 9		
Geometry (advanced)	3		
Calculus and statistics	3 to 5		
Applied mathematics	3 to 5		

[1] A minimum of 6 hours is required from among courses offered in arts and music, homemaking and domestic arts, and vocational subjects.

[2] Of the 9 required units, 2 are in health.

Sources: Adapted from: Ministry of Education, *Education in Japan, Graphic Presentation: 1957* (Tokyo. the Ministry, 1957), p. 50. [A minimum of 85 hour credits is required for graduation.]

student, with a requirement of 38 units of general education, at least 30 units in vocational subjects plus 9 units of health and physical education has 8 units for electives each year.

In addition to their regular classes, students are encouraged to take from 1 to 3 hours a week of extracurricular activities, for which no credit is given. There are many sports and cultural interest groups available at the USS.

Science education recently has gained new attention in Japan. The Ministry announced on November 30, 1957, a 3-year plan for increasing by 8,000 the number of science majors in the Nation's schools of science and technology. Part of the increased quota is to be met by the establishment of special 5-year technical schools, similar to the former technical institutes, combining the present USS and junior college. The Science Education Council, an advisory organ to the Ministry, has urged the stressing of science education at the elementary and lower secondary levels. According to its findings, present facilities are inadequate. Some 30 percent of the elementary schools have special classrooms for science education, while 47 percent of the lower LSS and 49 percent of the USS have them.[23] Shortage of science equipment and of qualified science teachers is a complaint echoed in Japan as well as in many other countries of the world.

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[23] *Japan Times*, Jan. 13, 1958.

Morals or social studies.—Since 1950 a debate has been going on concerning morals *versus* social studies. Criticism of the social studies course relate to such factors as: (1) Concern of parents and others over the morality of youth; (2) fear that critical thinking on social problems in Japan encourages students to rebel against control, reject the status quo, and turn leftist; (3) parental and PTA dissatisfaction with the nature of social studies courses and a demand for separate content courses in geography and history to enable youth to pass factual entrance examinations; and (4) the fact that in some cases social studies courses have been poorly taught or teaching materials have been inadequate.

When a small proportion of the youth became "children of the sun" (taiyozoku) or "zoot-suiters," and interpreted freedom as license, or when other young people were disrespectful of their elders, the elders blamed the schools and called for a return to a formal course in morals. Some pointed out that religions in Japan were amoral and that there were no Sunday Schools, as in the U. S. to teach moral standards. In 1952, the revival of a course in morals was adopted as a plank in one party's platform. It was discussed in the Diet and successive Ministries of Education have promised action.

That the problem is not resolved is evidenced by the coverage devoted to it in the press. In answer to the cry that morals are degenerating, it is often pointed out that scientific proof has not been offered that postwar children have lower morality than prewar children and that even were this a fact, responsibility for correction rests mainly in the home and community rather than in the school.[24] Some say that, as the postwar social confusion is alleviated, morals are improving.[25]

One indication of parental attitude was reflected in the 1955 public opinion poll of 3,000 parents taken by the Cabinet Councillors' Room regarding their expectations from schools during compulsory education years. Some 72 percent felt that the elementary and the LSS should teach pupils better manners and stricter discipline than at present and 66 percent thought this teaching should include respect for parents. Parents in their 20's, who had received the new education, were not as determined on this score as those in their 40's and 50's. They were almost evenly divided for and against teaching manners and respect; in the older group they were almost 3 to 1 in favor.[26] The graduates of colleges and universities were

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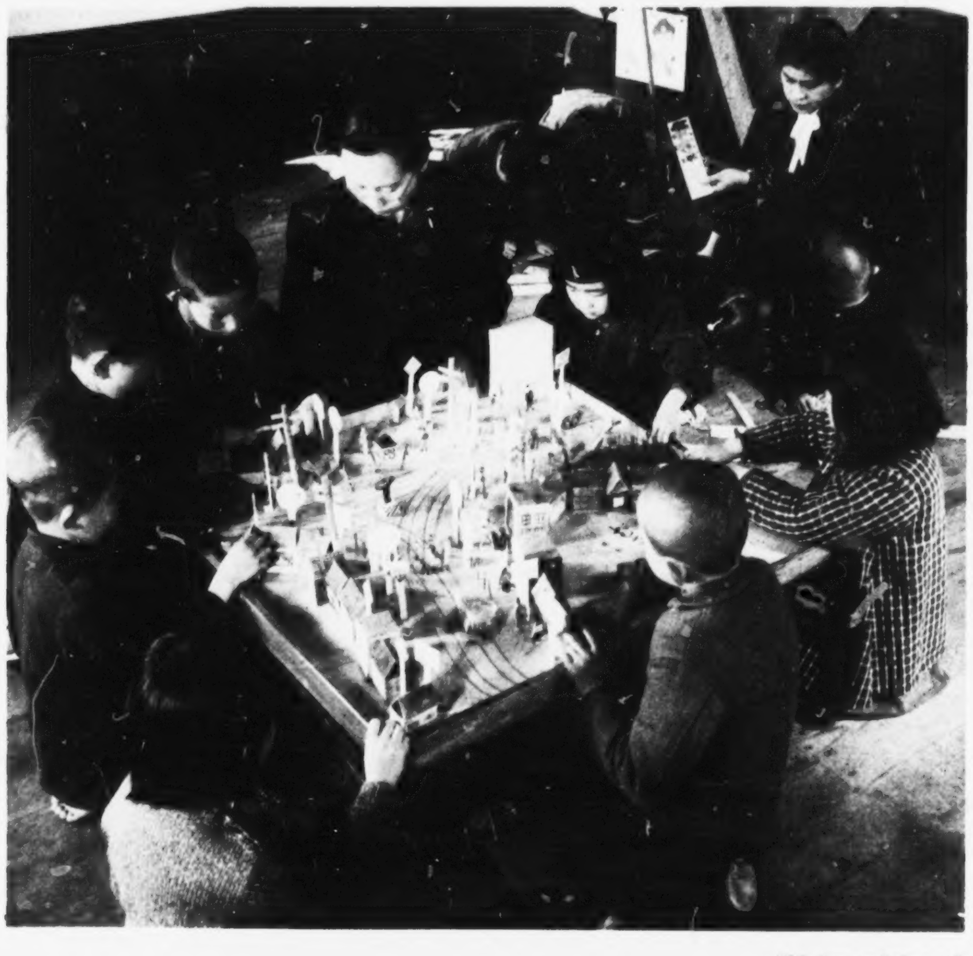
[24] See: *Asahi Shimbun*, May 31, 1957 and *Chubu Nippon Shimbun* [Nagoya], Dec. 4, 1957, as translated in *Japan Times*, June 1, 1957 and Dec. 4, 1957.

[25] See: Editorial in *Minami Nippon Shimbun* [Kagoshima], Nov. 21, 1957.

[26] Mombusho, *6.3 Sei ni Kansuru Kakushu no Yoron* (Tokyo, Mombusho, Showa 31, 6 gatsu), 120, 130. [Ministry of Education, Various Public Opinions Concerning the 6–3 System, Tokyo, the Ministry, June 1956, p. 120 and 130.]

3



US Army photograph

Third-graders learn safety rules in social studies class—Kanazawa.

less decided in their views than those of elementary and higher elementary school. The younger persons and those with more education tended to oppose revival.[27]

By late 1957 in another nationwide poll taken by the Cabinet Councillors' Room of the Prime Minister's Secretariat, 70 percent of the 3,000 people over 20 years old responded that they wanted to see "something like morals restored to the schools to a certain degree."[28] Of this number 11 percent said they wanted to go back to prewar morals while 50 percent opposed such return. In the matter of education in morality (dotoku kyoiku) as opposed to morals, 62 percent of the respondents felt that the lack of moral standards of youth made it a necessary item in the curriculum of the compulsory schools,[29] and 19 percent said it was unnecessary. Of those who indicated belief in a need for education in morality, the most important components of such education were judged to be filial piety (36 percent), manners and courtesy (15 percent), and patriotism (9 percent). When the same people were asked if special time should be set aside for education in morality, 43 percent said, "No" and 38 percent said, "Yes." This was almost exactly the reverse of the reaction in 1955.

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[27] Ibid., p. 132.

[28] Naikaku Soridaijin Kambo Shingishitsu, *Kyoiku Mondai ni Kansuru Yoron Chosa Kekka*. (Tokyo, Naikaku Soridaijin Kambo Shingishitsu, Showa 32, 12 gatsu), 2. [The Prime Minister's Secretariat Councillors' Room. The Results of a Public Opinion Poll on Educational Problems. Tokyo, the Secretariat, December 1957. p. 2. (Mimeo.)]

Some 30 percent would approve the use of a special morals textbook. And when those who favored the teaching of filial piety (obedience and respect for parents) were asked: "Do you think the prewar type of filial piety should be taught?", 28 percent said, "Yes," and 32 percent said, "No, not in that sense." When those favoring the teaching of patriotism were asked: "Do you think it is necessary to teach a prewar type of loyalty to the Emperor and love of country?" 15 percent said, "Yes," 35 percent said, "No, not quite that," and 5 percent said they did not know. About 14 percent opposed teaching any kind of patriotism.

In the 1955 poll, 46 percent said they preferred that history be treated separately as a single subject and not a part of social studies, and 33 percent said it should not be so compartmentalized.[30] The specific content of social studies is not covered in examinations. Said the Ministry in the fall of 1953:

> (1) Social studies is not nationalistic. In order to awaken the national self-consciousness of the people it is necessary to teach straight history and geography.
>
> (2) Social studies is not methodical. Basic subjects, systematically taught in separate courses are the only way to insure real learning.
>
> (3) Social studies is un-Japanese. It is an American importation, based on American experience and should be replaced by education characteristic of Japan.[31]

Though there were educators who resisted the movement away from social studies,[32] the Ministry of Education in 1954 persuaded the Curriculum Council[33] to accept the idea of revision of the social studies curriculum. As a consequence, the Ministry drew up a new course of study in social studies for elementary and LSS which provided for separate teaching of morals, geography, and history. It took effect on a voluntary basis in the 1955–56 school year.

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[29] In response to the question "Do present-day elementary and lower secondary pupils have lower moral standards than prewar children?" 48 percent said, "Yes," 39 percent replied, "No," and 13 percent said they did not know.

[30] See: Mombusho, *6.3 Sei ni Kansuru Kakushu no Yoron*, p. 132.

[31] Translated from *Shukan Yomiuri*, Sept. 27, 1953.

[32] Social studies teachers, professors, and representatives of associations concerned with the threat of abolition of the social studies program, met in the office of Dean Tokiomi Kaigo, School of Education, Tokyo University, on August 1, 1953, and organized to oppose the Ministry's proposal. When the Ministry's statement was modified, the rebuttal prepared by this new Social Studies Deliberation Council lost most of its force.

[33] The Curriculum Council from 1949 to 1951 rejected requests to recommend changes in social studies. See: *Yomiuri Shimbun*, March 31, 1955.

At the elementary level the major revisions as restated from a Ministry publication, were:

> (1) The aims of the social studies were to be spelled out in specific detail so as not to leave so much up to the teacher.
>
> (2) There was to be a shift in emphasis from a study of the structure and function of society to the humanities—art, religion, ethics and "the power of the will."
>
> (3) The scope of morals teaching was to be gradually expanded, starting with personal morals and working out to community, national and international morals.
>
> (4) Geography and history were to be taught systematically, progressing from the easy to the more complex as the student advanced through the grades.
>
> (5) Among things to be stressed in social studies were to be: (*a*) The duties of the individual,[34] (*b*) the significance of labor, (*c*) the position of the Emperor, and (*d*) the importance of being an internationally-minded Nation and contributing toward world peace.[35]

At the lower secondary level the planned change as restated from a Ministry publication, included the following:

> (1) Social studies in the past had included too many generalizations that were difficult to teach; these should be eliminated.
>
> (2) Social studies at the LSS level was to be articulated with that of the elementary school.
>
> (3) Teaching by the large unit system was to be made optional, and the former social studies course was to be broken up into its component fields, geography (7th grade), history (8th grade), politics, economics, and sociology (9th grade), with moral education conducted simultaneously in all these fields, though with no separate course devoted to it.
>
> (4) While working toward world peace and international cooperation, the social studies pupil was to have a strong sense of "responsibility toward the independence and prosperity of the state."[36]

Almost immediately after 1954 specialized textbooks on Japanese history and geography began to replace social studies textbooks in use. Publishers became reluctant to accept books built on the unit system, and "problem solving" was deleted from social studies. The place where the integrated treatment of social studies continued was in certain specialized teacher education universities which are called Gakugei universities. These schools reportedly had difficulty in finding a single social studies text for use in their attached schools, so they used several separate texts as reference books and continued the integrated approach.

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[34] The 4th graders studied a unit in how to obey Government regulations; the 6th graders studied how to express opinions and carry on free discussion.

[35] Ministry of Education, *Education in 1955: Annual Report of the Ministry of Education* (Tokyo, the Ministry, March 1957), p. 43.

[36] Ibid., p. 44.

At the upper secondary level the following changes, including those in social studies, were introduced with the entering 10th grade in 1956–57, and were to apply to succeeding entering classes until they would be common to the whole school program.

> (1) The basic principle was that the USS should be an independent unit training for citizenship, and not merely a feeder for the university. It could be terminal.
>
> (2) The school was to provide new combinations of courses in general education which would be uniform for all students in the first year, with specialization according to aptitude beginning with the second year. At that point the student would choose between different curriculums, not between different courses. This would cut down greatly on the number of elective courses (formerly 47 out of 85 credits) in order to improve the quality of the students' preparation for the university examinations.
>
> (3) Vocational courses were to be made more effective, to fill the growing need for technicians.
>
> (4) General social studies, formerly required, and current problems were abolished. Now the student is required to take civics and 2 out of 3 other subjects, Japanese history, world history, and cultural geography.
>
> (5) In the general or college preparatory course, 6 credits in art, homemaking, and vocations are henceforth required.[37]

In late 1957 the Ministry decided to require an hour a week for morals education in elementary and LSS beginning with the new school year in the spring of 1958. Marks were not required and there was no prescribed textbook. The Shizuoka Prefectural Board initiated its program in its LSS on December 1, 1957. Topics included etiquette, social behavior between the sexes, general human relations, and conduct in the community. Educators are making various suggestions on content. Some suggest that morals teaching utilize the children's daily experiences and grow out of cooperative activity on field trips, play days, and class discussions.

In elementary schools one often sees mottoes in artistic calligraphy. In the spring of 1957 in Nagata Elementary School in Tokyo a motto read: "Be sincere, good, strong, truthful children." At Shirakawa Elementary School a motto read: "Be strong, be upright, be cheerful," and each classroom displayed the program of the week which then was: "To take care of the flower beds and give cleanliness and order to the classroom." Social studies classes often display on the wall above the teacher's desk an illustrated time-line chart of Japanese history from ancient days to the present.

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[37] Ibid., p. 55ff.

Reportedly, the Ministry plans a revision in the social studies program to take effect in 1961. At that time separate and systematic treatment of history and geography is scheduled with morals being taught as a morals course.

Teaching methods.—The answers to the 1955 public opinion poll revealed some attitudes toward teaching methods. At that time, 53 percent indicated they preferred a teacher who taught and guided in detail; 39 percent preferred a teacher who encouraged students to work on their own. When asked which type of teacher the present day teachers are, 64 percent of the respondents felt they were of the democratic type and 17 percent felt they were of the traditional type.[38] Those from rural areas were more favorable to the postwar education than were those in city areas.[39]

Textbooks.—The Ministry prepared a bill to place book inspection and approval in the hands of Ministry officials. This proposal, as heretofore indicated, was presented as a companion bill to the Ministry proposal for revision of the School Board Law. The School Board Law was amended. The textbook proposal was not enacted by the Diet. Certain administrative changes were put into effect. Chart IX on p. 120 illustrates the present system.

Textbooks are prepared according to rules established by law. The author or publisher submits the manuscript to the Ministry in November or December for authorization to publish. It goes through a 3-stage screening to determine whether or not it meets requirements for neutrality in politics and in religion and is in harmony with the Fundamental Law of Education. Content is judged against curriculum requirements in the appropriate suggested course of study.

In the first stage the manuscript is read and evaluated by 3 readers selected from a panel of 600 teachers and subject-matter specialists. Next, the 3 evaluations are reviewed by a staff of 40 textbook examiners in the Ministry who approve or disapprove of the initial evaluations. To avoid the risk of pressure being brought upon the readers, the identity of the part-time readers and of the full-time reviewers is guarded. The readers make anonymous reports on manuscripts. Readers and inspectors are not given the name of the author or publisher of a manuscript they are reviewing.

The evaluation by the Ministry examiners is presented to a group of 80 scholars, educators, and journalists called the Textbook Re-

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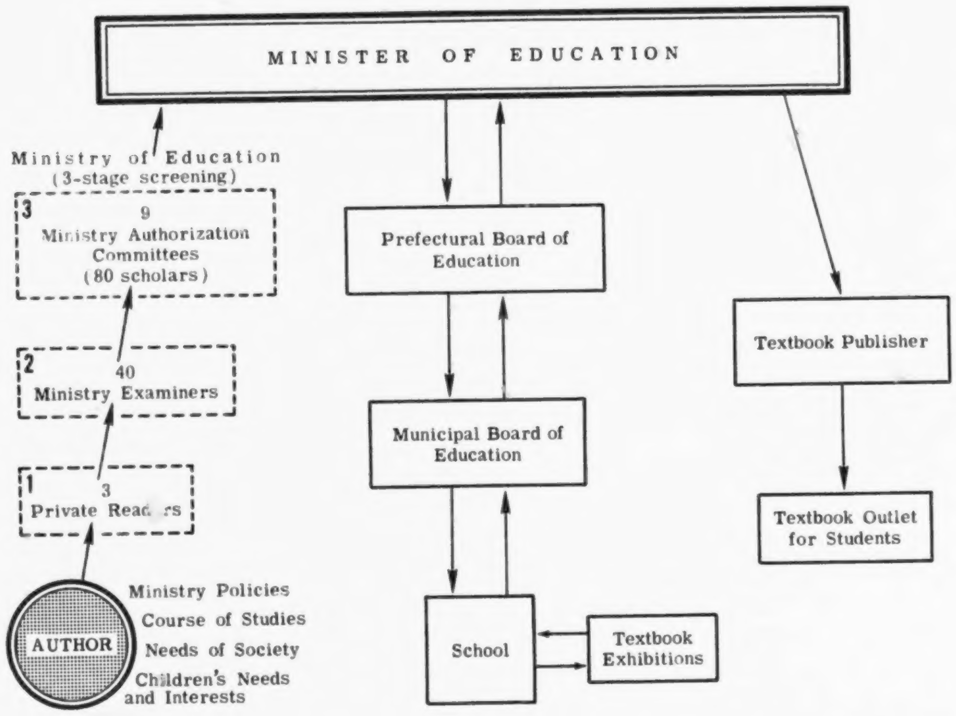
[38] See: Mombusho, *6.3 Sei ni Kansuru Kakushu no Yoron*, p. 125.

[39] Ibid., p. 122.

Chart IX.—Textbook process from author to student


MINISTER OF EDUCATION
Ministry of Education
(3-stage screening)
3
9
Ministry Authorization Committees
(80 scholars)
2
40
Ministry Examiners
1
3
Private Readers
AUTHOR
Ministry Policies
Course of Studies
Needs of Society
Children's Needs and Interests
Prefectural Board of Education
Municipal Board of Education
School
Textbook Exhibitions
Textbook Publisher
Textbook Outlet for Students

search and Authorization Council. This council is divided into 9 subject committees under the chairmanship of former Minister of Education Teiyu Amano. The council is chosen by the Ministry from private citizens. It reports its views to the Minister of Education: Approval, request for revision, or rejection. Some 40 percent of the manuscripts submitted in 1956–57 were reported to have been rejected; others were amended prior to publication. In the latter case, editors were informed orally on points which the screeners felt should be changed. Books recommended by the council are authorized by the Minister of Education who lists them in the catalog of approved books and sends the list to boards of education in the Prefectures.

Next, sample copies of approved texts are sent to 623 textbook exhibits held under the direction of the teacher consultants in public schools or libraries throughout the country for a 10-day period in early July. To these exhibits come teachers, representatives of schools, boards of education, and members of the local or county (gun) textbook selection committee.

Some teachers select their own texts from among those exhibited, particularly at the upper secondary level. The dozens of texts offered in each subject present a selection task. It is estimated that about 20 percent of the texts adopted at the elementary and LSS

小学理科
六年上
SYÔGAKKÔ
RÔMAZI
5-NEN
GAKKÔ TOSYO, TÔKYÔ
Harue San ga gakkô e iku.
Gakkô e iku Harue San.
Akira San mo gakkô e iku.
Gakkô e iku Akira San.
San wa 4-nensei desu.
San mo 4-nensei desu.
to Harue San wa
ei desu.
明かるい心
はつ日の出
6上
しょうがく
さんすうの本
おはじきどり

Courtesy of Ministry of Education

Elementary textbooks.

levels are selected by individual teachers or schools. In general, the practice is for selection to be made by a county committee consisting of members of the board of education, the PTA, and representatives of the teaching profession and the school administrators. The Ministry encourages block selection of a textbook series for the system and parents tend to support this idea since the cost tends to be less.

The competition among textbook publishers has produced a sizable variety of textbooks from which to choose. A 6th-grade teacher had a choice of 173 books, and there were 80 to 90 texts in the social studies for the elementary grades. The variety provided opportunity to select books which fit particular local needs. As illustrated by the picture on p. 121 textbooks for youngsters are attractive. Though the picture is in black and white, the books are colorful. The competition among textbook publishers tends to result in revisions of texts to keep them up to date.

Those selecting books at the local level write an evaluation which is forwarded by the municipal board to the prefectural superintendent of schools who checks with the appropriate teacher consultant. He then prepares a list which is forwarded to the Ministry by the prefectural board of education. The Ministry tabulates the requests from the Nation and places orders with the publishers. The latter are legally bound to see that the books are published and available in local bookstores in time for the beginning of the school year in April.

The Ministry sets a price ceiling for texts. The average text is priced at 60 to 70 yen (17 to 20 cents). This sum includes about 10 percent for the publisher over and above his cost. With some 20 million students to be supplied, textbook publishing represents a large business operation. Over 200 million copies of texts are published each year.[40] Over 90 companies are reported to be in the field, with 22 of them publishing over half of the textbooks. The largest textbook publisher sells over 30 million copies a year as compared to about 6.5 million books sold by the largest general book publishing firm.

Textbooks have been reviewed and commented upon by many groups. In 1953, the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO surveyed school texts and found them free from National and race prejudice, devoting attention to the ways of peace, and devoting from 20 to 30 percent to foreign countries. The study concluded that post-war social studies textbooks were suitable to the furtherance of international understanding, that they were accurate and objective, and that they were somewhat too idealistic in presenting a self-condemning point of view concerning Japan's part in World War II.[41]

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[40] According to the *Japan Times*, July 27, 1957, the grand total of textbooks distributed was 233,724,601 in 1956 with an average retail price of 67 yen (19 cents) a copy.

What does the general public think of the textbooks? In a 1955 poll taken by the Cabinet Councillors' Office, 70 percent judged them to be bright and cheerful and better than in the past, 13 percent judged them to be "cheap and detestable," and 17 percent presented no opinion. About 57 percent of the respondents knew the textbooks were issued on a competitive basis by private publishers; the rest indicated they thought texts were still compiled by the State. The percentage indicating that texts were authorized by the Government was 34. About half (51 percent) of the parents found the variety of texts undesirable because it increased the cost of education and frequent changes meant that textbooks could not be passed on to younger brothers and sisters coming up the school ladder. Some 30 percent preferred to have the same text used throughout the country; 77 percent wanted all schools in the same community to adopt the same text.[42]

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[41] Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, *School Textbooks in Japan: 1953* (Tokyo, the Commission, 1954), p. 36 (mimeo.).

[42] See: Mombusho, *6.3 Sei ni Kansuru Kakushu no Yoron*, p. 62–64.

Courtesy of Embassy of Japan

Heart of academic tradition in Japan—Tokyo University.

CHAPTER V

Higher Education

HIGHER EDUCATION in Japan played its part in helping the Japanese to transform their Nation from an underdeveloped country into a modern State. This chapter first describes the development of higher institutions—public and private universities which offered training for the professions and for leadership in other areas, technical institutes and colleges which trained men to be technicians, and higher schools which offered training in general education. Next are presented the changes in structure and purpose of various institutions and the development of new institutions. Finally, higher education is considered as it has developed during the present period. (Teacher education, including normal schools, though a part of higher education in Japan, is presented separately in chapter VI.)

Initial Modernization Epoch

Imperial Universities

One of the early steps taken by the Meiji Government in the development of training for leadership was the establishment of a university. Tokyo Imperial University was organized in 1877. It was based on 2 institutions dating from the previous or feudal period, Kaisei Gakko and the Tokyo Medical College. The university had 4 departments: Law, science, literature, and—on a separate campus—medicine. The student body totaled 1,750 (710 in the first 3 departments and 1,040 in medicine); the faculty included 56 Japanese and 35 foreigners or a total of 91.[1]

Originally structured on the model of the "amalgamated college" of that era in the U. S.,[2] this university was reorganized in 1886 on the German pattern. Article I of the Imperial University Ordinance of 1886, drafted by Mori, states:

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[1] **Department of Education, *Fifth Annual Report of the Minister of Education for the Tenth Year of Meidi* [sic] (1877). (Tokyo, the Department, 1879), p. 15–18.**

> The Imperial University shall have for its objects, the teaching of such arts and sciences as are required for the purposes of the State, and the prosecution of original investigations in such arts and sciences.[3]

Tokyo Imperial University, which served as a model for succeeding Imperial universities, was State-established, supported, and controlled. Like the German universities, the Imperial universities were centers for scientific research. Professors had a dual role—research and teaching—and they nominated persons for the presidency and certain of the chairs. Graduates received civil service appointments without examination. Tokyo Imperial became the training center for officialdom in the executive (including the diplomatic corps) and judicial branches of Government.

From 1886 to 1897, Tokyo Imperial University was the only such institution. In time there were 9 of these multiple-faculty Imperial institutions.[4] Tokyo and Kyoto each had 7 faculties: Agriculture, economics, engineering, law, literature, medicine, and science.

Private Institutions

Private institutions were developing at the same time. They aimed to make higher education more accessible and emphasized individual development, independent management, and academic freedom. Missionary institutions were concerned with extending their religious beliefs.

Keio Gijuku, commonly called Keio University, had started in 1858 during the last decade of the Tokugawa Period.[5] Tokyo Semmon Gakko became Waseda University in 1881.[6] Both specialized in training for law and authorized students to choose their own courses. Senshu (1880), Meiji (1881), Nihon (1889), and Hosei (1889) were founded during the Meiji Period. Several institutions were founded by Christian missionary groups such as Rikkyo or St. Paul's (Episcopalian) in 1871 in Osaka which moved to Tokyo in 1912; Doshisha (Congregational) in Kyoto in 1875 which became a university in 1912; Jochi Daigaku or Sophia (Roman Catholic) in Tokyo in 1913; and the colleges of Aoyama Gakuin (1883), Meiji Gakuin (1886), Tohoku Gakuin (1886), and Kansai Gakuin (1888). Being affiliated with mission boards which provided funds and supplied foreign teachers, these institutions were able to specialize in English and to prepare their ablest graduates for further study in English-speaking countries. In addition to supplying theological training of personnel for their own churches, they also trained students in commerce and political science.

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[2] Among distinguished leaders who contributed to the early development of higher education in Japan were the following from the United States: Guido F. Verbeck, Dutch-American missionary of the Reformed Church, was a teacher of several Restoration leaders (1863–76); he was made principal of Nanko which became Kaisei Gakko and then Toyko Imperial University. David Murray was the first Superintendent of Schools and Colleges in the Meiji school system (1873–79). D. B. McCarter spent some 50 years in education in China and Japan and was in Japan in the 1870's. Edward S. Morse, marine zoologist, brought in Professor Agassiz' techniques for factual research in 1887. William Clark introduced the Japanese to liberal arts or general education along with vocational agriculture at Sapporo Agricultural College in 1876.

[3] Department of Education, *Ordinances, Notifications, and Instructions Relating to Education* (Tokyo, the Department [1887]), p. 1.

[4] In order of authorization as Imperial universities, they were: Tokyo, 1886; Kyoto, 1897; Kyushu in Fukuoka, 1903; Hokkaido in Sapporo, 1903; Tohoku in Sendai, 1909; Osaka, 1931; and Nagoya, 1931, and 2 in the colonies after World War I: Taihoku on Formosa, and Keijo in Korea.

[5] Yukichi Fukuzawa, the founder, taught students to follow his life motto: "Independence and self-respect."

[6] Shigenobu Okuma, the founder, was a Restoration leader who resigned from Government to lead the opposition Progressive Party.

Government Higher Schools

Government higher schools, started as a part of the first Imperial university, became independent preparatory boarding schools for the Imperial universities.

The curriculum of the higher schools was of a general education type as preparation for specialization in the Imperial universities. The schools were divided into two departments—literature and science. The first prepared for the social studies and humanities in the university; the second for medicine or other branches of the sciences. According to the Imperial Ordinance of 1918, the purpose of the higher school was "completion of higher liberal education for males with special emphasis on the cultivation of national morality."

From the first higher school attached to Tokyo Imperial University, the numbers increased to 4 (regional) in 1886. By 1919 there were 8 and by 1941, 32 with 26 of them being Government institutions. Once accepted the student sometimes led a gay, carefree life until the last year when he crammed for university entrance examinations. Through entrance examinations, the Ministry of Education was able to adjust the number of entrants to the number of openings available in the universities.

Institutions for Women

Higher education for women was advocated by Yukichi Fukuzawa and others. The missionaries were the ones who pioneered in this field. Ferris Seminary, founded in Yokohama in 1870 by J. C. Hepburn (first Protestant medical missionary in Japan), was the first of 43 schools for women founded by missionary societies during the first 2 decades of the Meiji Period. Most were secondary schools; Kobe College and Doshisha Women's College were on the higher education level.

There were other private schools for women. Tsuda English College was founded in 1900 by a Japanese graduate of Bryn Mawr. It specialized in teaching the English language. In 1904, the Ministry recognized it as a college and in 1906 granted teachers' certificates to its graduates without examination. That same year a Japanese woman doctor—Yayoi Yoshioka—founded the Tokyo Women's Medical College which received Ministry recognition in 1920 as a regular medical college. Japan Women's University was founded by Jinzo Naruse in 1901.

Expansion

As a result of the sudden expansion of the economy in the days following World War I, there was heavy demand for college-trained men in industry and commerce. To meet it the Government opened 4 new Imperial universities between 1918 and 1940—Keijo (Korea), Taihoku (Formosa), Osaka, and Nagoya. The number of new private universities recognized as such by the Government almost tripled in the decade after 1920, as is shown in table 8.

Table 8.—Number of Government-recognized universities: 1880–1940

Year	National	Public	Private	Total
1880	1	------	------	1
1890	1	------	------	1
1900	2	------	------	2
1910	4	------	------	4
1920	6	2	8	16
1930	17	5	24	46
1940	19	2	26	47

Source: Hideo Aoki, *The Effect of American Ideas on Japanese Higher Education* (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University, 1957), p. 142. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation.)

The expansion of higher education was stimulated by the passage of the University Act (Daigaku Rei) in 1918. For the first time private universities as well as public were officially recognized as universities. The normal pattern was that of a consolidated institution with multiple faculties, though single faculty institutions were recognized as "Government universities."[7] Examples of the single faculty type were the Government Medical, Engineering, or Commercial Universities.

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[7] This term usually referred to non-Imperial institutions.

The law required Imperial universities to have graduate schools (daigakuin). These institutions offered postgraduate study with an indefinite number of years for the program and under the guidance of major professors. The work consisted of seminars and independent research without regularly scheduled classes. The candidate then took a position for a number of years and continued his research and publication. When there was agreement in his department that the quantity and quality of his scholarly work qualified him, he joined the ranks of doctor (hakushi).

The University Act redefined the purpose of a university as "the teaching of theory and practices necessary to the State, and the investigation of the principles of knowledge, and at the same time . . . the formation of character and the cultivation of the spirit of nationalism."[8]

Thought Control

By the 1920's various movements were occurring. In 1923, there were 46 communist student organizations in Japan which united to form the Students' Society for the Study of Social Science. It carried on its activities until it was abolished in 1928.

By the 1930's thought control was affecting educational institutions in Japan. In higher institutions, the deans of the component faculties were the principal officials assigned to directing thought. They were empowered to censor and control student publications, watch over meeting and club activities, promote patriotic lectures, select books for the library, issue lists of approved and forbidden reading matter, control research institutes, promote student welfare, and administer discipline. A school would be divided into groups of 20 to 30 students with each group under a coaching teacher responsible for moral training and for acting as a sort of guarantor of their conduct and behavior.[9] Students who did not follow the approved pattern of thought could be imprisoned or kept under surveillance or put into special classes.

Throughout the prewar period, teaching methods at higher institutions almost exclusively included the lecture and memorization of lecture materials by students. Teacher-student relations were formal. Library work was limited. University lectures usually were single 2-hour sessions each week with students taking a large number of courses.

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[8] Shigetaka Abe, On Universities and Colleges in Present-Day Japan, *Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations: Tokyo, Japan, August 2-7, 1937* (Tokyo, Japanese Education Association, World Conference Committee, 1938), vol. IV, p. 107-108.

[9] Department of Education, *A General Survey of Education in Japan* (Tokyo, the Department, 1938), p. 96.

The Imperial universities were organized according to the chair system with the number of chairs being fixed by Imperial decree. A particular chair in a certain subject consisted of a senior professor with an assistant professor and two or more instructors or assistants and other subordinates under him. The chair system compartmentalized the university into independent groups often competing for budget, office and library space, books, and laboratory equipment. Competition among scholars tended to keep them from sharing their knowledge or making their individual research available to their colleagues. Meetings of over a hundred learned societies—the usual academic market-place of ideas—were formal.

Enrollment climbed as the number of higher educational institutions expanded. Between 1920 and 1930 it more than tripled. In the "normal year" 1937, some 68 percent of the Government university students preferred the literary departments (law, literature, and economics) to the scientific (medicine, technology, science, and agriculture); 85 percent of the private university students were enrolled in the literary departments. The Government attempted to rectify this imbalance by increasing the number of its scientific faculties; it did not control the structure or entrance practices of private universities. The Government was concerned over white-collar unemployment. Whereas 99 percent of the medical, 98 percent of the technology, and 92 percent of the agricultural graduates of Tokyo Imperial University reportedly found employment in 1937, only 38 percent of the literature graduates were able to do so.[10] Since the State needed more scientists at that time than it did lawyers or literary men, it meant that the university was not adequately fulfilling its original purpose as defined in the University Act—to serve the interests of the State.

The Ministry had the power to control the national universities—plant, staff, curriculum, and finances. It was a virtual Board of Regents with policy forming and control functions. In practice, much power was left to the individual institutions—especially the older ones. In general the president and the university council of an Imperial university governed their own institution. Administration and finance were handled by a staff of non-academics (secretaries and clerks) under the nominal supervision of the president.

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[10] Abe, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 116-18.

By the turn of the century faculties had won the right to nominate candidates for president and for deans of faculties. Though in 1938 the Minister of Education tried to discontinue this practice, the universities persisted, calling their practice a "recommendation," not an "election."

Private universities operated under the Ministry but had their own board of councillors (alumni and faculty representatives) for finance and their own board of directors (president and deans) for policy decisions and appointments.

Despite almost complete absence of research in the social sciences, active programs existed in the natural and physical sciences. The quality of higher education in these latter sciences placed Japanese universities in the front ranks of world scholarship in such fields.

Democratization Epoch

The Early Period

The university in Japan was an advanced institution with its tradition of German-type scholarship. The U. S. Education Mission advocated: an increased number of universities, general education as a part of every student's program to provide a broader humanistic background, freedom of the universities from Government control and direction, and academic freedom for members of the faculties. It did not recommend that the university be articulated with the 6–3–3 system of elementary and secondary schooling, but the Japanese Education Reform Council made up for this omission later.

JERC concluded that the varied types of higher educational institutions should be replaced by a simplified 4-year university based on 6 years of secondary education. Besides altering drastically the structure and offerings of the some 500 technical colleges, normal schools, and higher schools, the recommendation meant a complete reorganization of the Imperial universities.

This recommendation went to the Ministry and to the Diet and resulted in the School Education Law of 1947 providing for a basic 4-year university following 12 years of lower education or the equivalent. It was to cover the 13th through the 16th year of schooling as compared to the former 3-year university which covered the 15th through the 17th year. In the case of specialized professional subjects such as medicine, the course could exceed 4 years. The multiple-faculty university was made standard; single-faculty institutions were permitted. The new aim of the university omitted any reference to the needs of the State and limited itself to "teaching and studying higher learning and technical arts as well as giving broad general culture and developing the intellectual, moral, and practical abilities." The university might have a postgraduate course, graduate schools, and special courses of 1-year or more, as well as research institutes. Evening classes and extension work also were authorized. All USS students were to be eligible to take examinations for admission.

The School Education Law provided that the three categories of universities—national, public (prefectural or municipal), and private—were to be under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education; but the latter's control over the operation of individual institutions was reduced. The autonomy of all universities, and particularly that of private institutions, was increased.

Decentralization of Ministry control.—Chartering of the new universities was the legal prerogative of the Ministry. It set up an advisory University Chartering Committee with a membership of 45—of which 23 were chosen by the Ministry and 22 were recommended by the University Accreditation Association. The Ministry retained technical control over the operations. The function of the committee was to inspect applicant institutions and to decide whether or not they met the minimum requirements formulated by the University Accreditation Association. Immediate postwar conditions were such that the Chartering Committee had to be generous in judging many institutions, granting them provisional charters on the assumption that they might be able to meet the minimum standards in 2–5 years. Another factor to be taken into account was the pressure to provide accommodations for all the students desiring higher education. The *Asahi Shimbun* correspondent at the Ministry wrote at the time:

> While the principle of "one university in each prefecture" affirmed by the Education Ministry is welcomed locally in the interest of decentralization of higher education, it cannot be denied that shoddy educational institutions have mushroomed in the prefectures under the name of universities, through mechanical amalgamation of normal schools and colleges.[11]

The U. S. Education Mission had recommended that "except for examining the qualifications of a proposed institution before it is permitted to open its doors, and assuring that these initial requirements are met, the Government agency should have practically no control over institutions of higher learning."[12] To perform the continuing duties of accreditation, the Occupation authorities encouraged the formation of some sort of private organization similar to that of accrediting agencies in the U. S.

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[11] Shigeru Shirai in *To*, May 1949, as translated in: Allied Translator and Interpreter Section, *Higher Education and Its Administration*. Publications Analysis No. 265. [Tokyo], GHQ, SCAP, May 24, 1949, p. 3.

University Accreditation Association.—Prior to the establishment of the Chartering Committee, a non-governmental group of educators representative of 46 prewar universities met in Tokyo in 1947 to organize an accrediting association with the goal of developing standards for universities. They publicly committed themselves to exercising their independence of the Ministry with regard to standards, objectives, and the improvement of higher education in general. Their responsibilities included agreeing on standards for the evaluation of university work and on such matters as quality, quantity, and type of work required for a degree. They sought to develop standards which would permit each student to have the opportunity to get a well-rounded training including general education or liberal arts and professional training.

Decisions affecting the direction of higher education were made. University work was to be evaluated in terms of units of credit and the minimum number of credits for the bachelor's (gakushi) degree was set at 124. The proportion of general education in the 4-year curriculum was set at about 30 percent. Working with professional councils and experts in various fields, basic curriculums in the technical areas were established. Flexible standards for physical plant, faculty, library, and financial structure were set up to take account of university autonomy and its particular orientation and of postwar conditions.

On the basis of these standards, the 46 original member universities made an examination among themselves. As a result, in July 1952, 36 universities became the first accredited members of the Daigaku Kijun Kyokai (University Accreditation Association). In carrying out the task of inspecting the hundreds of applicant universities, the chartering committee cooperated with the accreditation association by using the minimum standards set by the association as a working basis on which to grant permission for the organization or founding of new universities.

Chartering versus accrediting.—The first test was for the academic year 1948–49 when 12 institutions—all private—were recommended to the Ministry for chartering by the University Chartering Committee. The chartering of the national institutions came more slowly, since the problems were more complex. The average Prefecture had 8 diverse Government institutions of higher education—some national and some public (prefectural or municipal). These specialized, independent institutions at different levels had widely different academic standing. They often duplicated course offerings, administration, and facilities. Several might be clustered in a prefectural capital within walking distance of one another. In some cases they were in as many as 4 towns and cities of the Prefecture.

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[12] *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan* (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 62. (Department of State Publication 2579. Far Eastern Series 11.)

For purposes of efficiency and to equalize educational opportunity, it seemed desirable in most Prefectures to consolidate these institutions into a single national university. Accordingly, the Japanese Government passed the National School Establishment Law of May 1949[13] by which 249 existing national higher institutions—universities, colleges, higher schools, normal schools, and higher technical schools—were consolidated into 68 national universities, somewhat similar to State universities in the U. S. JERC principles governed the establishment of the new institutions; namely, at least 1 national university to a Prefecture offering general education and teacher education; abolishing of youth normal schools with their facilities being used by the new universities; merging of public higher schools with the university; naming the university after the Prefecture; and recruiting faculty from persons recommended by the units in the university. The law also authorized the continuance of research institutes previously attached to constituent institutions.

By the end of the Occupation, there were 71 national universities, 33 public (prefectural or municipal), and 117 private universities, for a total of 221 institutions of higher learning offering 4-year programs.

According to University Accreditation Association regulations, 5 years had to elapse from the time a university was chartered before the institution was eligible for accreditation, and then the inspection and approval was to be granted on an individual faculty basis. The association was not interested in minimum standards but in improvement—even maximum standards. In the eyes of the public, as soon as the University Chartering Committee had recommended approval, the university was accredited. To be accredited, however, an institution had to apply for membership in the association and pay an inspection fee. In many cases, evaluation by such a private group was looked upon as duplication of effort. Though all the ex-Imperial universities became accredited members, some of the other universities did not apply for membership.

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[13] For full text see: SCAP, CIE, *Post-War Developments in Japanese Education* (Tokyo, GHQ, 1952), vol. II, p. 59-84.

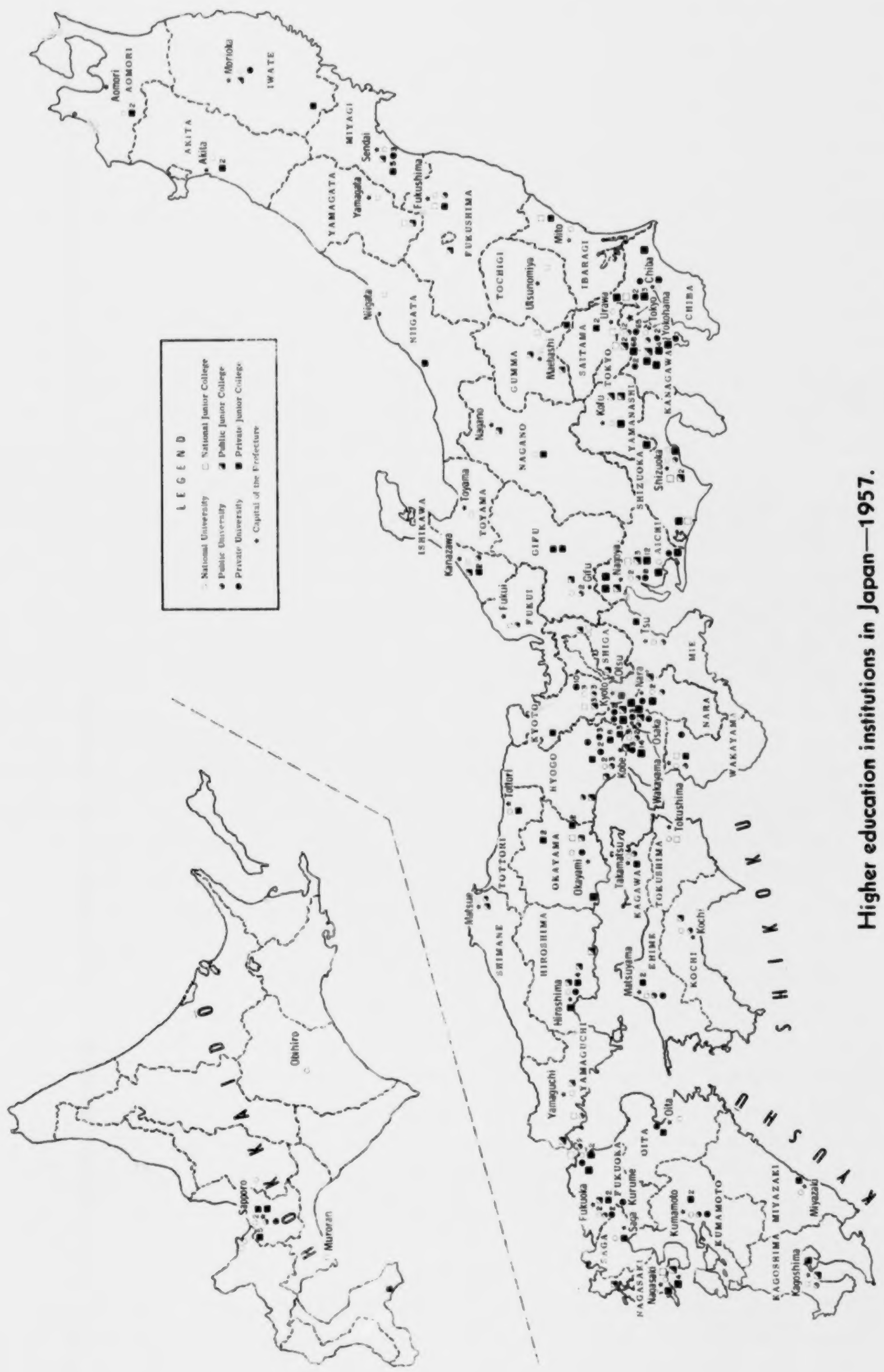
In the case of an unaccredited university, control rests in the hands of the Ministry. If it wishes to make changes, such as adding new courses or employing new teachers or an instructor, it must apply to the chartering committee for permission.

The voluntary University Accreditation Association continues to work toward solutions to problems involved in standards for higher institutions.

Junior colleges.—A number of institutions, such as some of the former 3-year technical institutes, did not have facilities to meet the minimum standards of the University Chartering Committee for 4-year universities and were about to be refused the right to open under the new system. Occupation authorities expected such institutions to become USS, whereas these institutions preferred to operate at a higher level. One solution seemed to be the junior college movement and representatives of such interests favored this. Furthermore, there was a demand by some industrialists for a 2-year industrial training school similar to the former technical institute. Consequently on the advice of JERC, the School Education Law was amended, as heretofore noted, to allow for a "temporary" system of 2- and 3-year junior colleges (tanki daigaku). Minimum standards were set, and in 1950 the number approved totaled 148, many of which were former technical colleges. All of the national technical colleges had become 4-year institutions or parts thereof; at the outset there were no national junior colleges. Educators have been reluctant to recognize the right of junior college graduates to transfer to the 4-year colleges and universities, because of their inability to meet the standards of such schools.

During the 2-year junior college course, the student was required to take 62 units of credit, of which 20 initially were in general education and 2 in physical education. The institution was required to offer a minimum of 24 credits in the general education area, at least 2 courses of 1 year in length in each of 3 fields; namely, humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. To many technical colleges specializing in home economics or agriculture, the requirement to introduce 6 courses in new fields was considered a hardship as they converted to junior colleges. By the end of the Occupation, junior colleges numbered 7 National, 31 public (prefectural and municipal), and 167 private or a total of 205.

Financial problems of private schools.—More than half of the students at the higher education level in Japan were enrolled in private institutions. These private colleges and universities usually


LEGEND
○ National University
◆ Public University
● Private University
□ National Junior College
◪ Public Junior College
■ Private Junior College
• Capital of the Prefecture
HOKKAIDO
Sapporo
Muroran
Obihiro
AOMORI
Aomori
AKITA
Akita
IWATE
Morioka
MIYAGI
Sendai
YAMAGATA
Yamagata
FUKUSHIMA
Fukushima
NIIGATA
Niigata
TOCHIGI
Utsunomiya
IBARAGI
Mito
GUMMA
Maebashi
SAITAMA
Urawa
TOKYO
Tokyo
CHIBA
Chiba
KANAGAWA
Yokohama
YAMANASHI
Kofu
NAGANO
Nagano
SHIZUOKA
Shizuoka
TOYAMA
Toyama
ISHIKAWA
Kanazawa
FUKUI
Fukui
GIFU
Gifu
AICHI
Nagoya
MIE
Tsu
SHIGA
Otsu
KYOTO
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NARA
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OSAKA
Osaka
HYOGO
Kobe
WAKAYAMA
Wakayama
TOTTORI
Tottori
SHIMANE
Matsue
OKAYAMA
Okayama
HIROSHIMA
Hiroshima
YAMAGUCHI
Yamaguchi
SHIKOKU
KAGAWA
Takamatsu
TOKUSHIMA
Tokushima
EHIME
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KYUSHU
FUKUOKA
Fukuoka
Kurume
SAGA
Saga
NAGASAKI
Nagasaki
KUMAMOTO
Kumamoto
OITA
Oita
MIYAZAKI
Miyazaki
KAGOSHIMA
Kagoshima

Higher education institutions in Japan—1957.

depended largely on tuition fees for meeting expenses and thus were hard pressed during the reorganization. The Private School Law authorizes the national or local public entity to grant subsidies, make loans, or transfer or lease property to them under favored conditions. With such action, there is a measure of Ministry control, such as over the establishment or abolition of private schools or constituent parts thereof (departments or graduate schools of universities) and the right to require reports.

Women's education.—Among the universities recognized in 1948 by the University Chartering Committee were 5 women's colleges. Here was a move toward women's equality of opportunity at the highest educational level. The number of junior colleges and universities for women totaled 132 by 1952—98 junior colleges, and 34 universities. The number of women students greatly increased not only at these institutions but at all tax-supported higher institutions (which became coeducational in 1946) though in 1950 only 9 percent of the total admitted to the latter were women.

General education.—General education or liberal arts stresses a broad and integrated understanding of the cultural heritage in language, science, social science, and the humanities. It utilizes teaching methods calculated to help the student think, improve his communication skill, select and appraise values, and handle new experiences. Its fundamental purpose is to provide continuous cultural nourishment in a changing society.

The U. S. Mission noted that in the traditional Japanese university curriculum there was for the most part, "too little opportunity for general education, too early and too narrow a specialization, and too great a vocational or professional emphasis. A broader humanistic attitude should be cultivated to provide more background for free thought and a better foundation on which professional training may be based."[14]

Accordingly, the University Accreditation Association required general education as a part of the minimum standards for accreditation. As of 1947 it required that 36 out of the total 124 units necessary for graduation be in the field of general education, 12 units each in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. In 1949 the association prepared a handbook of general education explaining the concept and purpose, the problems and techniques of instruction, and the sample course outlines. It was introduced to representatives of all universities in the country through regional conferences sponsored jointly by the association and the Ministry. Institutions began to introduce it as soon as they could, but the pattern of compartmentalization and specialization left little room for it. The specialists somewhat reluctantly accepted it as a subject preliminary to their own professional subjects—not as an integral part of a student's education. General education instructors complained that laboratory facilities for introductory courses in the natural sciences were still insufficient, especially in the new national universities, as were books and library facilities for general education.

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[14] *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan*, p. 52.

The new universities often were comprised of a former higher school whose main responsibility had long been general education. It thus seemed natural that when this unit was made a part of the university structure, it was assigned the responsibility for general education. The fact that the higher school remained on its own separate campus had a tendency to isolate it from the main stream of university activity. Many teachers of professional and specialized subjects showed some disapproval of the new subjects in the curriculum. General education was considerably under attack as taking up time which was needed to train specialists.

At the junior college level, the requirement that about a third of the curriculum be devoted to general education caused numerous ex-technical institute teachers and industrialists to complain that it left no time to teach a trade or prepare a technician properly. It was accepted reluctantly as a junior college responsibility.

Examinations.—There were various obstacles to equalizing educational opportunity at the higher level. Among them were discriminations on grounds of sex, social position, preparatory schooling. The Ministry took steps to eliminate such obstacles and to "open the door as widely as possible to all young people so that their abilities may be judged on equal terms, and measures taken to give them equal opportunity for higher education."

Examinations were to be based on 3 criteria, which were to be given equal weight as far as possible: (1) A scholastic aptitude test formulated by the Ministry and given simultaneously throughout Japan, (2) an academic achievement test of subject-matter mastery to be given by each institution, and (3) an evaluation of the candidate's secondary school records. A new departure in this scheme was the scholastic aptitude test produced by psychologists attached to the Ministry's National Research Institute of Education and intended to reveal capacity to do work at the university level. It was used initially in 1949 and revised annually thereafter. It was intended primarily for use by national universities but also was used on a voluntary basis by a number of local and private universities.

Students protested the scholastic aptitude tests. In answer to a demand, publishers issued collections of aptitude tests—including the ones used by the Government—and students pored over their contents and practiced solving the problems. Because it was felt that students were thus able to prepare for them, the psychologists changed them each year. Parents and teachers of secondary school graduates protested the tests on the grounds either that the results correlated closely with those of the academic achievement tests and hence were unnecessary or that they were too difficult and not valid. Many did not recognize fully the purpose and meaning. The Ministry and the universities opposed the tests because they were expensive and troublesome to administer. The tests were eventually abolished, and reliance was again placed on the former factual achievement tests.

The academic achievement test was a subject-matter examination given separately by each university. The Ministry now advised the universities that they should be so constructed as to be consistent with the curriculum of the new secondary schools taking into account the elective system. Universities were cautioned not to test rote memory but reasoning power and the ability to apply facts to new situations. Objective questions were recommended so as to eliminate as far as possible the subjective opinion of the examination markers.

The cumulative record of the student's growth and development in secondary school was to be weighed equally with the tests, and secondary school officials were requested to observe objectivity in preparing the record. Besides these tests, the candidate underwent a physical examination and a personal interview, though neither was to be a determining factor in his acceptance or rejection unless he were found to be physically incapable of carrying out a university program.

Student life.—Student life in the postwar universities was difficult. There was great poverty, thousands of good students dropped out of school, and some 75 percent needed part-time work.[15] When possible, it took the form of tutoring lower or upper secondary students cramming for entrance examinations to the next higher level. For many it was manual work such as delivering papers or milk or selling notions in a sidewalk stall. The Ministry-subsidized Student Relief Association aided somewhat in finding work for needy students. The Government scholarship loans helped; inadequacy of funds was such that individual grants were not large enough to provide basic necessities. The situation steadily worsened from 1946 to 1950, then gradually improved.

Student associations.—Students accepted the freedoms of the new pattern and as students often do, tended to ignore the accompanying responsibilities. Resentful of their plight, they rebelled against constituted authority and the status quo. JERC analyzed the causes of student unrest in 1950 as follows:

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[15] Japanese Education Reform Council, *Education Reform in Japan: Present Status and the Problems Involved* (Tokyo, the Council, 1950), p. 117.

> Social conditions subsequent to the war, influence of international situations, confusion of thought on the part of students are the fundamental causes of these disturbances; but it cannot be denied that the miserable living condition of the students, reflecting the difficult economic situation of the nation, lies in the background of all these troubles.[16]

By 1949–50, the All-Japan Federation of Student Self-Government Associations, commonly known by its Japanese short form of Zengakuren, claimed a membership of half the students on university campuses all over the country. With the encouragement and financial support of radical groups, it sometimes sponsored student strikes. The leaders were often more like professional agitators than students. Some had been expelled; some were non-student agitators capitalizing on student unrest. A large number of students showed little disapproval and obeyed orders to demonstrate or remained indifferent. Universities took stern counter-measures.

The May Day violence of 1952 at the Imperial Palace grounds and the flame-bottle campaign against the police in several parts of the country in the same year aroused public ire and lost the organization much support from university students. The economic pressures of job-getting and attitudes of employers not to hire radical students served to moderate student radicalism. The federation suffered from internal dissent and outside pressure, but it continued to have an active program and to hold the loyalty of thousands of students.

In opposition to the federation, private university authorities in Tokyo stimulated their students to form a student self-governing association for private schools (shigakuren). Lacking adequate funds, it provided little competition to the federation. Other anticommunist student groups appeared in Tokyo; none gained a wide following.

Student personnel services.—The radical student political activity resulting in strikes and disruption in the universities as well as the problems caused by the rapidly expanded student population, emphasized the need for student guidance. Professional guidance and personnel services were a new concept in Japanese higher education. Obstacles to such a service were the fact that there were few teachers or professors qualified at the time to serve as guidance officers. The guidance function previously had been a part of the university's general affairs department or a non-academic, business, or administrative office. Professors whose academic advancement depended on research and lecturing skills tended to be uninterested in it.

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[16] Japanese Education Reform Council, op. cit., p. 118.

In the coeducational institutions particularly, it was clear that since the universities had been established primarily for men, women students needed certain services such as supervised housing. Who was to do the counseling? A country that had not developed applied psychology suddenly needed the services of a host of applied psychologists. A prime task was to find and train able and willing academic people for this function.

The Ministry and universities, assisted by specialists from the U. S., began to train people for guidance services. A first step in 1948 was the formation of a committee for the study of guidance at the university level. Composed of 16 professional men and women educators, it met twice weekly for 6 months under the chairmanship of a Japanese graduate of a university in the U. S. and with the advice of a university dean of women from the U. S. Their deliberations resulted in a handbook of guidance at the university level which was distributed by the Ministry to universities in Japan. It was used as a basic text for a number of institutes for educational leadership (IFEL) held in 1949 for as long as 3 months' duration. There was agreement on the three major problems such a program faced: (1) Getting acceptance for counseling and guidance as a university responsibility, (2) finding qualified personnel, and (3) financing the program.

A guidance development for women was a 3-month training course for advisers of women students limited to women faculty members of higher institutions, mostly universities of liberal arts and education. Candidates were difficult to find, since most offices of student welfare even in women's colleges were manned by men. The Ministry brought together 17 women faculty members from different parts of the country. At the end of the course, the group had produced a book on guidance for women students and organized themselves into a National Association of Deans of Women. Tokyo University gave 12 units of credit to each participant and 2 of the women were sent to the U. S. to observe counseling procedures.

The Japanese adopted the term student personnel services (SPS), to describe these services at a university, including those on admissions and credits, counseling, student housing, student financial aid, student organizations and activities, student health, faculty advising, and administrative organization. On the request of Japanese universities, a series of institutes for student personnel services was held during the year 1951–52, with the cooperation of the American Council on Education and the U. S. Office of Education. A faculty of specialists went to Japan and worked with a Japanese faculty to guide institutes in three major regions, Kanto, Kansai, and Kyushu. The participating groups consisted of deans of students, chiefs of the new guidance sections, and younger faculty members of universities. This program was supplemented by short conferences of university presidents.

The institutes stressed the point that exclusive emphasis on academic studies is an insufficient goal for modern institutions of higher learning. According to the student personnel approach, educational and personal problems out of class are as important as class problems. All resources of the university should be utilized to provide educational offerings to assist the student to become a balanced personality.

Members went back to their campuses, and later reported developments in SPS in more than a hundred universities and colleges, establishment in a number of institutions of regular faculty meetings to work out methods of counseling and guidance, introduction of orientation programs for new students, setting up of independent budgets for SPS, interest among academic professors in such services, and an increase in the number of staff members to handle the work.[17]

Courses in SPS were introduced into some academic departments and inservice training programs. A regional and later a National Association for Student Personnel Services was formed. At the end of the Occupation, institute directors reported a marked increase rather than the decrease they expected in the interest and concern for SPS.[18] The Student Affairs Section of the Ministry set up a system of regional workshops, and ideas of earlier institutes were spread throughout higher educational circles.

The Present Period

Major developments in the history of modern Japanese higher education may be indicated from two approaches: (1) the prewar concentration on research and teaching as a means of training leaders for the purposes of the State and (2) the postwar democratic emphasis on the individual as the most important single factor in the educative process with the university providing an environment for social as well as intellectual growth. This section examines these two approaches and the adjustment in the latter epoch.

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[17] Wesley P. Lloyd, *Student Counseling in Japan: A Two-Nation Project in Higher Education* (Minneapolis, Minn., University of Minnesota Press, 1953), p. 132.

[18] Ibid., p. 139.

General education problems.—Professional faculties (especially engineering) emphasize the fact that the 1½ years taken out for general education leaves inadequate time in the 4-year program to prepare specialists. As a solution, Kyoto University is requiring its engineering students to spend an extra year (a total of 155 units of credit) to complete their specialized training. From the students' point of view this solution means attending school longer than for those in other fields in order to get degrees.

As in most countries, classes are overcrowded, and the discussion method appropriate to general education is difficult to use. In conversation with the author, one science professor who subscribes to the idea of general education expressed the view that he cannot teach the course because it would brand him "a second-rate scholar." He emphasized the need for an adequate budget for general education departments and specialists to teach in them.

Former President Tadao Yanaibara is credited with giving strong support for general education at Tokyo University. On the Komaba Campus, the university provides 36 units of general education for undergraduates in the entire university plus area majors related to 7 geographic regions for students who wish to take the 4-year university program on that campus. Kyoto University has 2 campuses devoted to general education.

International Christian University, a private institution chartered in 1953 with close connections and support from sources in the U. S., has a general education program under some of its senior professors. ICU authorities indicate that the success of the first graduates (class of 1957) in getting positions in competition with graduates of the older institutions, proves the value and efficacy of their non-cramming, liberal arts program.[19] Other aspects of the program at this university include: (1) The use of its own aptitude test for entrants instead of reliance on the achievement test; (2) the highest percentage of women students in a coeducational university—37 percent; (3) bilingual instruction with Japanese students taking 40 percent of their work in English; (4) special emphasis on the production and use of audiovisual resources; (5) student participation in class work and close personal relations with professors for guidance purposes; and (6) use of library resources, required reading for each class, and books available on open shelves in the library for student use. A dormitory system with resident faculty advisers is a part of campus life. Students needing part-time work often help to maintain the school plant thus earning 35 yen (just under 10 cents) per hour.

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[19] All 165 March 1957 graduates were placed or went on to graduate study at ICU or abroad. ICU graduates won 4 of 12 available places for the Family Court (out of 990 applicants), and 1 of the 15 successful candidates out of some 1,800 who sat for the Nation's diplomatic service examination was from ICU. Other graduates secured places in the Bank of Japan and in other business firms.

Graduate supply and demand.—In 1957 the Statistics Section of the Ministry published a study of the immediate and projected supply and demand for university graduates in various fields. See table 9 below. It refutes a popular conception that there are too many graduates and too many universities, by indicating more positions available than university graduates to fill them.

Table 9.—Projected supply and demand for university graduates in Japan: 1955–56 through 1960–61

Year	Number of graduates	Number of positions	Number of graduates per 100 positions
1955–56	128, 777	153, 631	84
1956–57	129, 914	157, 474	82
1957–58	133, 507	161, 192	83
1958–59	136, 140	157, 129	87
1959–60	141, 826	160, 107	89
1960–61	142, 961	163, 364	88

Source: Adapted from: Mombusho, *Daigaku to Shushoku* (Tokyo, Mombusho, Showa 32, 3 gatsu), 86, 90. [Ministry of Education. Universities and Employment. Tokyo, the Ministry, March 1957. p. 86 and 90.]

Table 10 on page 145 throws light on why there continues to be an estimated 25 percent unemployed among university graduates. In general, it indicates an oversupply of graduates in the humanities, in homemaking and nursing, and, after 1959, in education. In law, politics, economics, and commerce there still seem to be more positions than people to fill them. It must be remembered, however, that these statistics do not necessarily mean that the graduates gained employment in the fields for which they were trained. Many law graduates may be eventually employed in business, or they may go into other, completely unrelated fields.

As in many other countries, there is a great demand for graduates in the fields of agriculture, engineering, medicine, and science. In these fields, according to table 11 on page 145 a consistent shortage is projected. In agriculture the supply of graduates per year is reported as some 1,500 short of the demand, with the situation expected to improve slightly over the years. In engineering and medicine the shortage is reported as most severe. The table indicates that Japan needs more than twice as many doctors of medi-

Table 10.—Projected supply and demand for university graduates in liberal arts and social sciences, in Japan by year: 1955–56 through 1960–61

Year	Education			Law, Politics, Economics, and Commerce		
	Number of graduates	Number of positions	Number of graduates per 100 positions	Number of graduates	Number of positions	Number of graduates per 100 positions
1955–56	23, 487	26, 639	88	47, 118	56, 606	83
1956–57	23, 108	27, 042	85	46, 741	57, 715	81
1957–58	23, 479	27, 790	84	49, 775	59, 232	84
1958–59	23, 773	24, 245	98	50, 733	59, 630	85
1959–60	25, 792	24, 458	105	53, 360	60, 787	88
1960–61	25, 853	24, 379	106	54, 007	62, 222	87

Year	Homemaking, nursing, and others			Literature, History, Philosophy, and Fine Arts		
	Number of graduates	Number of positions	Number of graduates per 100 positions	Number of graduates	Number of positions	Number of graduates per 100 positions
1955–56	11, 233	9, 560	117	19, 633	14, 932	131
1956–57	12, 512	9, 838	127	19, 854	16, 150	122
1957–58	12, 213	10, 171	120	19, 897	16, 446	121
1958–59	12, 764	10, 068	126	20, 188	16, 037	125
1959–60	12, 614	10, 316	122	20, 553	16, 465	125
1960–61	12, 589	10, 599	119	20, 795	16, 728	124

Source: Adapted from: Mombusho, *Daigaku to Shushoku* (Tokyo, Mombusho, Showa 32, 3 gatsu), 86, 90 [Ministry of Education. Universities and Employment. Tokyo, the Ministry, March 1957. p. 86 and 90.] See also: Japan, Ministry of Education, *Demand and Supply for University Graduates: Japan.* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1958) p. 48–62.

Table 11.—Projected supply and demand for university graduates in the natural sciences, in Japan by year: 1955–56 through 1960–61

Year	Agriculture			Medicine		
	Number of graduates	Number of positions	Number of graduates per 100 positions	Number of graduates	Number of positions	Number of graduates per 100 positions
1955–56	4, 977	6, 403	78	6, 251	13, 500	46
1956–57	5, 003	6, 528	77	6, 469	13, 723	47
1957–58	5, 165	6, 718	77	6, 689	14, 084	48
1958–59	5, 274	6, 080	87	6, 983	13, 689	51
1959–60	5, 218	6, 296	83	6, 934	13, 918	50
1960–61	5, 333	6, 451	83	6, 934	14, 277	49

Year	Engineering			Science		
	Number of graduates	Number of positions	Number of graduates per 100 positions	Number of graduates	Number of positions	Number of graduates per 100 positions
1955–56	13, 497	22, 486	60	2, 581	3, 505	74
1956–57	13, 674	22, 912	60	2, 553	3, 566	72
1957–58	13, 768	23, 042	60	2, 521	3, 709	68
1958–59	13, 798	23, 764	58	2, 627	3, 616	73
1959–60	14, 909	24, 181	62	2, 446	3, 686	66
1960–61	15, 004	24, 879	60	2, 446	3, 793	64

Source: Adapted from: Mombusho, *Daigaku to Shushoku* (Tokyo, Mombusho, Showa 32, 3 gatsu), 86, 90. [Ministry of Education. Universities and Employment. Tokyo, the Ministry, March 1957. p. 86 and 90.]

cine as are graduated each year; in science the shortage starts with about a thousand at the beginning of the survey and increases to 1,347 by 1960–61.

Science training.—In attempting a solution to the shortage of scientists, the Ministry launched in 1957 a 22.3 billion yen ($61.9 million) plan to produce 8,000 extra scientists and technologists in fiscal year 1962 by granting scholarships and increasing teaching and research facilities and equipment. The number of graduates under this plan is expected to meet less than half the shortage otherwise predicted at that time.

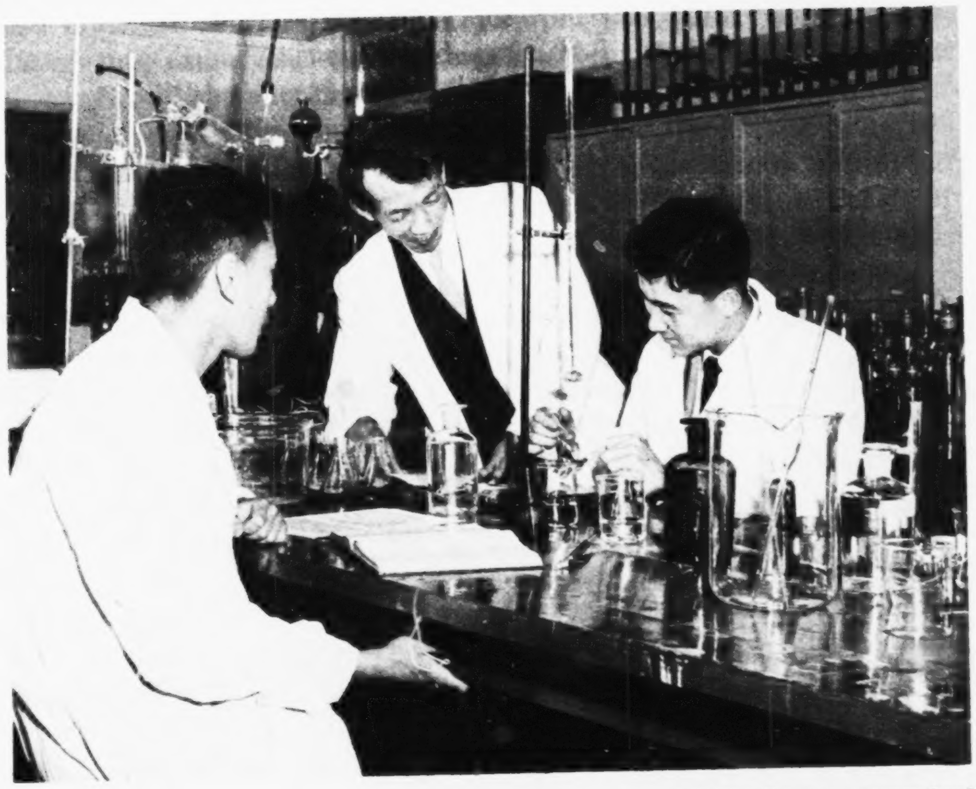
Basic research is done primarily in Government universities. Administration costs are such that about half the allotted budget is devoted to pure research. In the new universities some 70 percent of the budget goes to salaries and 30 percent to the research itself. Other research planning tends to be on a short-time basis. As in many countries, although industrial research is advancing rapidly, it often falls short of meeting the growing demand for new technological development.

Doctors' degrees.—The long-standing doctor's (hakushi) degree, granted only to the ablest scholars often after as much as 20 years of research and publication, is held in great esteem. Its holders take pride in the small number of doctorates granted. They want the young scholars to prove themselves in research and publication first. Actually, according to a dean interviewed by the author, the new 3-year doctoral program represents a broader research program than the old; it requires more knowledge about more subjects. The former degree represented research in depth and did not require breadth of learning.

The new doctorate course officially went into effect in the new graduate schools in 1955–56. Few degrees had been granted as of early 1958, when the first candidates could have completed their courses. There are many taking the course.

The traditional type of doctor's degree is scheduled to be discontinued after 1961 and the new degree is to be granted after that date. The restriction against graduate students working as assistants while they study toward the doctorate is claimed to discourage many young people.

Teaching methods.—Since classes are crowded, the lecture method is used almost exclusively. Lectures usually are delivered at dictation speed. In graduate seminars, the smaller size permits more opportunity for student participation in discussion, planning, or leadership. When courses are not completed within the scheduled time, students are expected to finish their work on their own with-



Courtesy of the Japan International Christian University Foundation, Inc.

Chemistry laboratory, International Christian University—Tokyo

out guidance and assistance. Courses meet once a week for 1½ to 2 hours, and a student can take a dozen or more subjects. Since attendance is not required, a student sometimes enrolls in 2 courses at the same hour and attends lectures alternately, taking both examinations at the end. Mimeographed copies of the lectures may be purchased in time to prepare for the final examinations or the student can borrow notes from a major in the field.

Libraries.[20]—In late 1956 there were 462 libraries reported in the 221 universities in Japan, containing 23,545,819 books.[21] The old established universities have libraries well stocked with books; because of the tradition of the library as a storehouse, the books are not necessarily accessible to students. Professors and students tend to buy books they need.

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[20] The author is indebted to Professor [illegible] L. Lyle, Director of Libraries, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga., for the substance of most of this section. Professor Lyle spent part of 1957 as a visiting expert from the U. S. in the Library School at Keio University. Further information on this school appears in Chapter X in the discussion of libraries as an aid in social education.

[21] Japan Library Association, editor, *Libraries in Japan* (Tokyo, the Association, 1957), p. 27.

Heads of the university libraries usually are older professors who have been given the post as an honor and to facilitate their research. As a rule, they do some teaching in their own subject and may have other duties as well. In general, the few trained librarians on the staff (such as graduates of the National Library School founded in 1921 in Ueno, Tokyo) concentrate on buying books, building a collection, and repairing books.

In general, books are kept in stacks. To obtain them for use in the library, application is made at the loan desk. Under special conditions graduate students writing theses may have access to the stacks. Generally students are not permitted to charge out books.

An exception to this picture is the new International Christian University where students may check out books for 2 weeks. ICU professors use library resources in their teaching; they use no single textbook. All require reference reading and encourage the use of bibliographies. A trained librarian gives service to the students. This library is reported to be a model which is attracting representatives from some of the great institutions in Tokyo.

At many universities, there are at least two main types of branch libraries on the campus. First there are those of specialized schools such as engineering, law, and medicine, which may be on separate campuses of the same university. These libraries nominally are under the control of the university librarian; in practice, they operate more or less independently. In general, medical libraries have organized their materials and made them more readily available to students.

Secondly, there are departmental libraries of the faculties of economics, literature, and the like which are located on the main campus, but independent of the main library. They have been built up by the faculty concerned from their faculty budget and are for their use. By special permission, graduate students in the field may have access to them, but regular students do not. They have the appearance of private libraries; holdings are not listed in the main library. Over the years many have become large separate libraries, strong in historical tradition, and useful to those who have access to them. Thousands of other books are held permanently in professors' offices.

Another type of branch library is the independent campus library. In the amalgamation of a number of formerly separate higher institutions the individual components of the new university have tended to retain their independent library collections.

There are forces at work which presage changes in this more or less typical pattern. One is the emergence of professionally trained librarians—graduates of Keio's Japan Library School or of library schools abroad. Though most of them are serving an apprenticeship under the scholar-librarian, a few have positions which permit them to change existing library practices.

According to the Japan Library Association, the acceptance of the university library as a necessity to the functioning of a university depends on the adoption of new teaching methods. Not until exclusive use of the lecture method is abandoned in favor of a method which requires outside use of reference works will the library be looked upon as an essential workshop for students.[22]

Junior college problems.—Some Japanese academicians measure the junior college against the 4-year academic universities and complain of low standards, calling it a "half college." In practice, the junior colleges are said to lack the budget to improve their situation with respect to personnel, equipment, and general raising of standards. The financial difficulty of the small private junior college in a rural area is reported to be even greater. Some claim that the 2-year period of training is too short to produce good technicians, especially when the time is cut down by the requirements in general education—in spite of the fact that the required units in general education were cut in 1952 from 20 units to 12[23] leaving 24 for specialized education, 24 for electives, and 2 units for physical education.

Two problems in particular have confronted the junior colleges: (1) Graduate transfer to a regular university and (2) competition with the 4-year graduates for positions. Ministry statistics in 1956 indicated that only 55 percent of the junior college graduates found work, while 79 percent of the 4-year graduates were placed.[24]

Evidence shows that junior college officials in Japan are trying to improve these schools and that they feel the first step is to get permanent status for them. They appealed to the Government for a revision of the School Education Law. The Ministry handed the problem to its Central Education Council. After deliberation the council recommended that the junior college be a terminal vocational institution similar to the former 3-year technical institute. It also recommended lengthening the course to meet the complaint of the industrialists and their Japan Federation of Employers' Associations by allowing the junior college to merge with the USS to form a 5- to 6-year institution.

Though junior college officials are aware of certain dangers in returning to the old system technical schools, many hold that the future of the junior college depends on its specializing as a vocational training school for middle grade technicians.[25] They are hopeful, however, that the 12 units in general education can be retained. The junior colleges of Japan are organized into a Junior College Association to work for higher standards and better status.

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[22] Ibid., p. 29.

[23] Akira Watanabe, Reform Problems of Present Junior Colleges in Japan, *Junior College Journal*, 28 : 82, October 1957.

[24] Ibid., p. 81.

University administration.—University presidents are nominated in closed meetings of the University Council, which usually consists of deans of "faculties" (colleges or schools), several representative professors from each such faculty, heads of laboratories, the university librarian, and the director of the attached hospital if there is one. The actual appointment of the president, as of the teachers, is made by the Minister of Education, though the Minister generally follows the recommendation of the individual university. Presidents usually are appointed for a 4-year term, while deans may be appointed for as little as a year. Often presidents are chosen from among the deans of their own institutions. Deans are chosen by each Faculty Conference from among its members. They are directly responsible for the administration of their own particular faculty or department operating under the supervision of the president.

The chair system exists in the older universities; it is not generally found in the new national universities.[26] Each professor is virtually autonomous; he is not bound by strict conventions regarding standards and course content. Faculty salaries are in the neighborhood of 30,000 yen or roughly $80 and up per month—and professors may take on extra work to add to their income.

Many university staff members have studied in workshops and institutes sponsored by Occupation authorities; some have visited the U. S. Many scholars have affiliations with scholarly associations abroad.

Student life.—University entrance for the average student requires considerable effort; but it is relatively rare for an undergraduate to fail because of unsatisfactory work. In other words, most of the students who enter are graduated. Employers ordinarily do not ask to see a student's academic record. Employment in the larger firms occurs after a competitive examination.

According to the first student White Paper, submitted to the Ministry in 1956, students at Tokyo and Kyoto Universities suffered from financial difficulties and cheerless lives. With tuition at national universities a standard 9,000 yen ($25) a year, and board and room from 6,000 to 7,000 yen ($16.67 to $19.44) a month as of 1957, the cost of going to school ranged from 8,000 to 9,000 yen

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[25] Ibid., p. 82.

[26] Instead of chairs and faculties, International Christian University has 4 major divisions: Social science, humanities, natural science, and language.

($22.22 to $25.00) a month. A wealthy student might spend twice as much. About 60 percent of the Tokyo and Kyoto University students work.[27] Kyoto reported that 30 to 40 percent of its working students were ill with respiratory troubles. Students spend from 300 to 400 yen (roughly $1) a month on recreation. University recreational facilities are sometimes meager.

Scholarship aid.—Activities of the Japan Scholarship Society evidence the Government's desire to assist young people with the cost of a higher education. Needy students recommended by its authorities may be exempted from tuition fees as long as they maintain their grades. Others who need board and room may be given fixed sums per month for these items. The Government increased the amount granted to this society for loans, though inflation reduced the value of the increase. The distribution of grants and their overall size are indicated in the following figures for the early post-treaty period:[28]

Students obtaining loan	*1952 loans*	*1954 loans*
University students	$4,710,000	$5,900,000
Graduate students	581,000	1,040,000
Teachers college students	1,710,000	1,860,000
USS	820,000	1,370,000
Others	79,000	500,000
Total	7,900,000	10,670,000

Scholarships are given by public and private bodies, foundations, and philanthropists, including some wealthy landowners who feel a responsibility, as did their ancestors, for the bright youth of their domain. The total of all these grants reportedly came to $2,192,777 in 1955. Besides these sources, the students organized such groups as the Student Livelihood Council, the Federation of All-Japan Cooperative Associations, and the Students' Assistance Society. The latter was established for the purpose of finding jobs for needy students, and helping them find housing. The annual Government subsidy for this Society amounted to 40 million yen (about $110,000.00) in 1956–57. Much has been done, and as in countries around the world, much remains to be done.

Student personnel services.—At most universities, guidance of some sort exists. At the larger institutions, such as Tokyo, Kyoto, and Ochanomizu Universities, and at International Christian University, it is well supported. There are guidance bureaus at which students can obtain help—academic guidance in their choice of studies, health guidance, emotional guidance, vocational guidance, and guidance regarding housing and part-time work. In most rural universities, there are guidance officers.

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[27] Corresponding figures for other universities are as much as 70 to 80 percent.

[28] Wesley P. Lloyd, *Student Personnel Services in Japan* (Washington, American Council on Education, 1957), p. 15.

The national units most directly responsible for the growth of SPS are the Student Affairs Section of the Bureau of Higher Education and Science of the Ministry and the National Association for Student Personnel Services. These agencies, together with the administration of Tokyo University, which offers counseling services on its Hongo and Komaba campuses, have taken leadership in promoting SPS. In 1955 all 3 sponsored, and the university was host to, an institute for advanced training in student personnel services developed as a followup to the institute in 1951–52.[29] Much had been accomplished in the interim. Vocational counseling, with full-time consultants, was now legally required on every university campus. Greater emphasis was on placement than on counseling. Trained personnel still were in short supply; 57 of the 222 universities had full-time counselors in 1955.

Student self-government.—The dominant student organization is the All-Japan Federation of Student Self-Government Associations. Following May Day riots in 1952, the Federation began to lose members. As a result, it indicated a changed policy, which included looking after the needs of students, such as for part-time work, employment after graduation, and other services. But again by 1956, the Federation went back to its earlier policy of making the student movement more or less synonymous with political struggle. Like many student groups, the Federation of Student Self-Government Associations is divided into moderates and extremists. Membership in the association is usually compulsory. Occasionally there have been counter student movements. In general, students are reported as showing some increased interest in social activities. Sports activities have not become as readily available as in some other countries. But as the youth graduate and start earning their living, they tend to temper their views, as do youth of most other lands.

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[29] Ibid. This book is devoted to a description of the institute.

CHAPTER VI

Teacher Education

Initial Modernization Epoch

IMMEDIATELY after publication of the *Gakusei* (Educational System) in 1872, the beginning of Japan's modern system of education, the Meiji Government formulated Regulations Concerning Institutes for the Training of Officials of Instruction and expatiated on the need for a specific educational institution for teachers.[1] Having had no such institutions before, the Government modeled the normal school after the western institution. It imported an American teacher and hoped the new scheme would fit Japan's needs. The first notification to the provinces to recruit students for the normal school said, in May 1872:

> The Shihan Gakko (Normal School) is an institute for the training of elementary school teachers. . . . It is an urgent necessity to train teachers for elementary education, and as there are normal schools in foreign countries, the Government would establish a normal school modeled after them, employ a foreign teacher, and by letting him teach our students by the curricula and methods of their elementary school . . . produce teachers who are able to set up curricula and methods for our elementary schools.[2]

In September 1872 the normal school was opened in the building of the Shoheiko in Tokyo, a school founded by the Shogunate where Japanese and Chinese literature had been taught. It admitted 54 men students of fairly advanced age and sufficient knowledge to qualify them as teachers. Nobusumi Morokuzu was appointed director and Marion M. Scott, a Californian, was the first foreign teacher. Students were divided into a lower and an upper section. Scott taught the upper or more advanced groups, using elementary school textbooks from the U. S. such as Willson's *Readers* and Quackenbos' *English Grammer*, which had been used in California schools since 1863.[3] The upper section then taught the lower section, following the foreign methods of "collective teaching"—a different method from the practice of individual instruction by which they had been taught since feudal times.

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[1] Gon'ichi Hita, *The Training of Teachers in Japan: A Historical Survey*, Itsu Maki, trans. (Tokyo, Japanese Education Association, World Conference Committee, August 2–7, 1937), p. 11.

[2] Translation supplied by Professor Toshio Kumura of Yamaguchi University, formerly Chief of Teacher Education, Ministry of Education, and an authority on teacher education in Japan.

This sort of practice teaching proved to be unnatural. In the following year (1873) an elementary school was annexed to the normal school and thus began the use of laboratory schools, called attached schools, as a part of the teacher-education programs. The normal school was divided later that year into a section on teaching methods and one on subject-matter content to be taught in the elementary school. The student could complete both sections in 2 years.

In 1873 normal schools were founded in Osaka and Sendai, the latter called Miyagi Normal. Graduates were in demand as teachers in the local normal schools as well as in the public elementary schools. By this time middle schools were springing up in the provinces and needed teachers so Tokyo Normal started a middle school teachers course, which later became 3½ years long. Thus was established the basis for Tokyo Higher Normal School which specialized in training teachers for normal and secondary schools.

In the meantime, in the 7 collegiate districts (reduced from 8 in 1873) normal schools were set up on the model of the Tokyo Normal School. All were National Government institutions. Prefectural Governments began to establish prefectural normal schools patterned after the 7 National Government schools, in order to train teachers for the elementary schools set up under the code of 1872. Two years after the first normal school was established, Japan had a total of 53 normal schools with 292 teachers and 5,072 students.[4] In 1877–78 the Government closed its regional normal schools, granted a subsidy to the Prefectures, and turned over the responsibility of educating elementary school teachers to them.

On the advice of David Murray and his co-worker Fujimaro Tanaka, the Government decided to promote teacher education for women and to encourage the use of women as teachers. Tokyo Women's Normal School was founded in 1874. The object of the school was "the training of persons who should be responsible for the education of the young." It started with 74 girls and a course of study extending over a period of 5 years. In 1876, an attached kindergarten (the first to be established by the Government) and in 1877 an attached elementary school were added for practice teaching. The Tokyo Women's Normal School, like the Men's Normal, served as a model for similar institutions in the Prefectures.

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[3] See: *California Teacher*, 1: 23, July 1863. The texts were also used by Guido Verbeck in his teaching at Nanko in Tokyo from 1870 to 1873.

[4] Hita, op. cit., p. 16.

In the decentralization of school control attempted by Tanaka in 1879, some normal schools were closed for a short time.[5] In the recentralization of 1880, the Government required each Prefecture to have a normal school. Tokyo Normal School was to specialize in research in the latest foreign methods of teacher education and to disseminate its findings through prefectural normal schools for application in the schools of the Nation.

The new ideas absorbed by the young teacher-educators, Isawa and Takamine, from their study abroad were Pestalozzian. According to one historian, "the remarkable progress that has since been achieved both in the theory and practice of our elementary education is largely due to the unstinted efforts of these two teachers.[6]

Representatives from each of the Prefectures were invited to Tokyo Normal in 1882 and studied the new Pestalozzian methods for a year, carrying them back to the 80 normal schools in operation in 1883 and theoretically to all the schools of the country. Thus was the idea of a child-centered curriculum introduced into Japan. In the meantime, normal schools increased so rapidly and diversely that the Ministry decided to standardize them. Based on the cardinal idea of loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety, students were to take a standard curriculum, including morals, reading, calligraphy, mathematics, geography, history, physics, education, school management, practice teaching, and singing and gymnastics.

With the German-inspired trend in education in 1886, changes were made in normal school education. Stress was laid on military discipline and moral and physical training. Students in the higher normal were given State scholarships covering expenses. Those in prefectural normals were supported by the respective Prefectural Governments. In return, graduates were required to teach for approximately 10 years.

Thus the teacher-education system was established which remained through the nationalist period. Students were said to have been impressed with the fact that as teachers they would be performing an important function for the State, to which they owed a duty. The first article of the *Imperial Ordinance on Normal Schools of 1886* read:

> Normal Schools are institutions in which persons are trained as teachers.

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[5] According to Ministry figures supplied by Professor Toshio Kumura, there were 87 normal schools in 1879; 74 in 1880; 68 in 1881, and 76 in 1882.

[6] Hita, op. cit., p. 20.

> Special care shall be taken to so train pupils as to develop in them the characteristics of obedience, sympathy, and dignity.[7]

The program of moral training, military drill, and nationalism produced a sense of solidarity among the student population. According to new regulations, teachers and headmasters of middle and higher middle schools (called higher schools after 1894) were to be recruited from among graduates of the university on whom teachers' certificates were conferred without special professional training or examination; teachers and directors of ordinary normal schools were to be chosen from higher normal school graduates; and teachers and principals of elementary or higher elementary schools were required to be graduates of an ordinary normal school. This plan constituted a 2-track system for teachers similar to that in France. For the academic secondary schools normal school training was not considered necessary—only subject-matter specialization; for elementary or normal school teaching, it was necessary to go through the now separate normal school track.

It is said that Emperor Meiji, in recognition of the importance of teachers to the State, intended to announce the *Imperial Rescript on Education* during a visit to Tokyo Higher Normal School but that illness prevented him from doing so.[8] With the handing down of the Imperial Rescript in 1890, the guiding principle of teacher education—loyalty to the Emperor and the State—became fixed.

Over the years, both the men's and women's higher normal schools raised their standards and prepared teachers exclusively for secondary and normal schools rather than elementary.

Consequent to the economic and political expansion produced by Japan's victories in the Sino-Japanese (1894–95) and the Russo-Japanese (1904–05) Wars, there was a rise in the percentage of attendance in the 4-year compulsory school until 98 percent of all children aged 6 to 10 were reported to be in school by 1906. The number of middle schools more than doubled and girls' high schools increased sixfold. Secondary level technical institutes burgeoned.

This expansion made new demands on teacher education. Prefectures were required by the Government to establish at least 2 normal schools—a 4-year school for men, and a 3-year school for women. The minimum number of normal school students was fixed by Imperial Ordinance. The central Government required normal school directors to be appointed by the Emperor on recommendation of the Minister of Education. Normal school directors were thus subject to supervision and control by both the Governor and the Minister.

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[7] Department of Education, *Ordinances, Notifications, and Instructions Relating to Education* (Tokyo, the Department [1887]), p. 7.

[8] Hita, op. cit., p. 26.

In order further to meet the demands for normal and secondary school teachers and administrators, a new higher normal was opened in Hiroshima in 1902 and 6 provisional training institutes were attached to Tokyo Imperial University and several higher schools. The latter admitted graduates of normal, middle and girls' high school for a 2-year accelerated teacher-education course. A Women's Higher Normal was opened in Nara in 1908, modeled after the pioneer institution in Tokyo.

Prosperity attendant upon World War I brought increased expansion of education. Progressive education gained some popularity. Normal schools and professional groups eager to learn the latest ideas brought in John Dewey, William Heard Kilpatrick, and exponents of the Dalton and Winnetka plans to lecture to teachers. The higher normal schools, and particularly the two universities of literature and science, became centers of such educational philosophy and practice.

In the early 1920's a number of Japanese educators developed new theories of education based on the philosophy of John Dewey. They indicate the modern educational thinking that was prevalent about a generation before the advent of the so-called "new education" after World War II. Eight of these theories and their formulators became well-known:

1. Self-study—Nagaichi Higuchi
2. Child-centered activity—Kiyomaru Kono
3. Freedom in education—Kishiye Tezuka
4. Interest—Meikichi Chiba
5. Creativity—Kinshichi Inage
6. Dynamic—Heiji Oikawa
7. Education of the whole child—Kuniyoshi Ohara
8. Literature and art appreciation—Shin Katagami[9]

In 1917 the conservative Ministry, concerned at the threat of foreign ideas, appointed a special council to investigate. This council in 1919 produced a series of resolutions which it submitted to the Ministry and which were the basis for subsequent policy. Regarding teacher education, they provided that further efforts be made toward the formation of character befitting teachers and the cultivation of love of country and loyalty to the Emperor. Salaries of normal and higher normal school teachers were to be raised and their moral welfare promoted. Postgraduate courses were to be permanently provided at higher normal schools and facilities for education research were to be afforded. Finally, a course in education was to be instituted in the faculty of literature at an Imperial university.[10]

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[9] Hideo Aoki, The Effect of American Ideas on Japanese Higher Education. (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University, 1957), p. 22. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation.)

This period, which produced the Universities Act of 1918, was a time when higher education in Japan came of age. The importance of research in professional education was recognized. Practice teaching was developed. Each normal school had an attached elementary or middle school for observation or student-teaching under a critic teacher or administrator. Teaching technique, requiring participation by the children, was practised in a number of schools. The postgraduate schools of Tokyo Higher Normal and Hiroshima Higher Normal were raised to 3-year single-faculty universities of literature and science, with higher normal schools under the same administration loosely attached to them. This action placed teacher education on the graduate level with a possible 2 to 5 years of postgraduate study and elevated the whole normal school program. Tokyo Imperial University had courses in educational psychology, history of education, and philosophy of education. It also had an attached middle school for practice teaching. Education had been professionalized, and more liberal ideas of education were planted which later were suppressed but never quite destroyed.

Wartime Epoch

In 1943, regular normal schools were officially raised from secondary to college level. This sort of elevation to higher level by Ministry fiat was an example of what the Japanese call yumei mujitsu (the name but not the reality). By 1945 there were higher normals in Tokyo and Hiroshima (attached to the University of Literature and Arts), at Nara (women), Kanazawa (men), Okazaki (men), and Hiroshima (women), the last three founded during the war. In 1943, the Government, seeking increased control of the prefectural normal schools, placed them directly under the Ministry. By 1944, there was a reported total of 136 teacher-education institutions with 77,000 students.

For about two generations instructions for normal schools students were that they "must be trained in habits of strict obedience to commands and instructions of superiors, and of correctness in their behavior and speech."[11] The regulations for higher normal schools in 1943 indicated that "the essence of the national entity must be clarified, and together with a realization of the Empire's Mission, a keen consciousness of loyalty must be fostered, and leadership training for national accomplishments stressed . . . instilling in the student a fervent interest in the teaching profession, faith in the national entity, and in Imperial administrative policies."[12] Such was the background in brief of the education of some 400,000 teachers at the beginning of the Democratization Epoch.

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[10] Hita, op. cit., p. 38-9.

[11] Baron Dairoku Kikuchi, *Japanese Education* (London, John Murray, 1909), p. 288.

Democratization Epoch

The Early Period

From the allied Occupation point of view teacher education needed redirection.[13] The U. S. Education Mission recommended that: Normal schools be reorganized on the 4-year college level, allowing for a 2-year preparation for elementary school teachers when necessary to provide enough teachers in time of shortage; normal school faculties be free to determine curriculum changes without direction from Government officials except for maintenance of general standards; the curriculum emphasize liberal arts, the study of children, and home and school relationships; and it provide adequately for observation, participation, and student teaching. It recommended that universities offer professional education for prospective teachers and a broad general education as well as ample subject-matter content. In addition, universities were to promote research, exert educational leadership, and offer advanced study and professional training for administrators, supervisors, and experienced teachers.

The higher normal schools and universities of literature and science, particularly in the Tokyo area, seemed to be the logical leaders in a reform of teacher education. Some of the representatives of newer educational philosophy of the 1920's were still active in these institutions and came forward, identifying themselves as Pestalozzians, or advocates of the Dalton plan or other such movements.

From the end of 1946 and with the assistance of Occupation authorities, joint curriculum committees of the men's and women's higher normals in Tokyo developed modern curriculums suited to their needs. These curriculums were put into effect in April 1947.

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[12] SCAP, CIE, *Education in the New Japan* (Tokyo, GHQ, 1946), vol. I, p. 285.

[13] For fuller treatment of teacher education under the Occupation, see: SCAP, CIE, *Education in the New Japan*, vol. I, p. 281–98, and *Post-War Developments in Japanese Education* (Tokyo, GHQ, 1952), vol. I, p. 249–83, from which much of this section is drawn.

This action stimulated the other five higher normals to take similar action.

Later the same year, Tokyo University of Literature and Science recognized its responsibilities for leadership and with Occupation assistance started a new type of part-time inservice program—a series of postgraduate seminars in education—to meet the needs of school administrators, supervisors, and professors of education and psychology in the Tokyo area.

The normal schools were early assigned by the Ministry to assist in orienting teachers at the elementary and secondary levels in educational philosophy and in introducing new methods, curriculums, and texts. This responsibility for inservice training was theirs until 1949 when boards of education were established and teacher consultants were trained to take over at the local level. The leadership of this program was the responsibility of the Normal School Section of the Ministry.

"Short session" courses lasting 10 days (usually in summer) were one of the major inservice training programs for the teachers and principals of Japan. They were carried out by the normal schools and the Ministry, aided by CIE and Military Government education personnel. The first ones were held in 1947 and included a study of general principles of education, educational psychology, problems of administration, student organization, methods of teaching, and pupil guidance. In order to train instructors for so vast a project, conferences were held in 7 regions of the Nation, and a national leadership training conference was held in Tokyo to train instructors of upper secondary personnel. Sessions convened not only in teacher-education schools but in many elementary and secondary schools throughout the Prefectures, usually in about 10 different places in each Prefecture.

In 6 years virtually all of the more than 600 thousand teachers had participated in these courses. Given under difficult circumstances, they were attended by teachers who traveled for hours on crowded trains carrying the tiny ration of dry rice that had to last for the duration of the session. On arrival, they dumped their ration in a large tub at the entrance to the auditorium. When cooked, it was to feed the assemblage. Their sacrifices and earnestness in learning were deeply impressive to observers.

In Southern Japan a group of former experimental schools (most of them attached to normal schools) requested help from Military Government education officers in organizing democratic programs in their schools. They took the name of Try-Out Schools, since each tried out a specific modern practice, then invited other schools in to see how it worked. They chose to specialize in such areas as democratic administration, teacher reeducation, PTA's, student government, health education, coeducation, guidance, and the community school. In due course they had open house for other teachers and invited their schools to become try-out schools and join the Try-Out School Association. The applicant school had to demonstrate staff desire to participate in the development of democratic procedures and, in addition, show evidence of progress already made and plans for the future. (In 1957 the Try-Out School Association celebrated its 10th anniversary and published a book describing the accomplishments of member schools.)

Another step in promoting reorganization of teacher education was the holding of a National Teacher Education Workshop during the summer of 1947. Representatives from 76 teacher-education institutions came to Tokyo for a 26-day workshop under the auspices of Tokyo University, financed by the Ministry, and assisted by CIE education personnel. Members of disparate groups—university and normal school teachers, public and private school representatives, and Ministry officials—who had not worked together before found they had common interests and problems. One dean remarked that "an affinity was established between psychology and pedagogy, two faculties which should advance abreast, but which unfortunately were not speaking acquaintances previously."[14]

As a result of the workshop, requests came from all regions of Japan for similar 1-week workshops. No funds were available from the national budget, so local groups representing the various teacher-education institutions of the area planned and paid for them out of their own funds. The chief of the normal school section of the Ministry, accompanied by the adviser on teacher training in CIE attended each of 6 regional workshops which drew representatives from 38 of the 46 Prefectures. These workshops were Japanese-initiated and Japanese-directed.

Soon various organizations (such as professional associations in teacher education, regional study groups set up after the workshops, normal schools, and attached schools) were producing research and sharing their new programs. Monthly magazines on specialized education with such titles as *Child Study*, *Guidance*, *School and Society*, and *The New School*, edited by professors in teacher-education institutions, made their appearance and commanded a reading public of from 5,000 to 15,000 each.

The School Education Law of 1947 provided for a single 4-year university to replace the many prewar types. The 140 teacher-education institutions in existence at that time were, with the exception of the 7 higher normal schools and the 2 literature and science universities, primarily of the junior college type. They were faced with the choice of uniting with other institutions to become independent 4-year institutions or being designated as miscellaneous schools. (The choice of becoming a 2-year junior college under the new system was not open to them until 2 years later when junior colleges were authorized by law.) As a result, the former teacher-education institutions attempted to become 4-year universities.

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[14] SCAP, CIE, *Education in the New Japan*, vol. I, p. 295.

They were examined by an inspection team of the University Chartering Committee between September 1948 and January 1949 and, though their petitions for university status were approved, specific conditions were attached in almost all cases. Since practically no money for raising standards was available, they were caught in the pinch of trying to become universities without having adequate resources in staff, plant, and equipment. A 2-year course was provided as a temporary measure to cope with the sudden demand for teachers; it lacked status and was not popular.

Many regular normal school professors themselves opposed amalgamation because of not being generally as well prepared as were university staff members. In December 1947, a Ministry survey revealed that about 49 percent of them were university graduates. Conversely, many university-trained professors were reluctant to welcome the normal school teachers to their staff.

The National School Establishment Law of May 1949 specifically provided for teacher education in 51 of the 71 authorized national universities. At least one university in each Prefecture had to have a 4-year program of teacher education for both men and women. All but 3 of the former teacher-education institutes were incorporated into the 51 national universities, which meant that sometimes an institution would have several types of former normal schools of varying quality. The former youth normal schools, one of which existed in each Prefecture, became parts of the agriculture or education faculties or the vocational department of the universities.

Several types of teacher education were developed: (1) Faculties of education (similar to the school or college of education in the U. S.) were authorized in the 25 multiple-faculty universities, (2) faculties of liberal arts and education (gakugei) were established in 19 universities, in which a former normal school was made responsible for both the general education and professional education, (3) 7 single-faculty universities of liberal arts and education were formed exclusively from prewar regular normal and youth normal schools to specialize in teacher education (similar to teachers colleges in the U. S.), and (4) a high-level University of Education was established in Tokyo, made up of the former Tokyo University of Literature and Science, the Men's Higher Normal, and the Training Schools for Agriculture and Physical Education. This last institution was meant to be the center for research and advanced study in the field of education.

In spite of inadequate funds and some opposition on their campuses, faculties of education in the former Imperial universities (only two of which absorbed a former normal school) and the Tokyo University of Education strengthened their education staffs by bringing in new members. Tokyo, Kyoto, Tohoku, Kyushu, and Hiroshima provided leadership in improving educational personnel in their respective regions. Education departments, called gakugei or liberal arts and education faculties, of some smaller national universities were made up largely of staffs of the former junior college type of normal school. While the education faculties of former Imperial universities emphasized research, the primary duty of the new universities' education faculties was to train elementary and LSS teachers for local schools. Single-faculty liberal arts and education (gakugei) universities, located in seven large cities, also specialized in teacher education rather than research.

At least 32 of the 51 multiple-faculty universities had branches in separate cities on the sites of former independent normal schools. They offered teacher education usually of 2-years in length. Supplementing these full-time courses were correspondence courses for teachers as well as extension or part-time courses offered by the universities.

Almost all the private universities soon offered the minimum requirement of courses in education for the secondary school teaching certificate. They had attached laboratory schools and other training facilities; the practice teaching was short, often only the minimum of the 2 weeks required by the Ministry. Likewise, some of the prefectural and municipal universities developed departments of education. All the national universities offering teacher preparation were coeducational and provided the same quality of preparation for men as for women. The two former women's higher normals at Tokyo (Ochanomizu University) and at Nara (Nara Women's University) remained the only national universities for women only.

The Law for the Certification of Educational Personnel was passed in May 1949 and amended later that year, in 1950, and in 1951. It provided for 4 classes of professional certificates: Regular 1st class, regular 2d class, temporary, and emergency for each given level or type of teaching such as kindergarten, elementary, LSS, USS, schools for the handicapped, and others. For kindergarten, elementary, and

LSS teaching the requirements were 4 years of education of university grade or its equivalent for a 1st class certificate, 2 years for 2d class, and 1 year for a temporary certificate. For USS the 1st class certificate required 4 years of university plus 2 years of postgraduate study; the 2d class certificate required 4 years of university or its equivalent; a temporary certificate, 2 years. The 2d class certificate for USS could be converted to a 1st class by 3 years of teaching experience plus additional course work; the temporary certificate could become 2d with 5 years of experience and additional study. A time limit was placed on the validity of temporary and emergency certificates. The 1-year training which provided a temporary certificate for kindergarten, elementary, and lower secondary teaching was valid for 5 years and renewable for 5 more, but could only be made permanent if the teacher completed his 2- or 4-year university course. The law permitted teachers to substitute 3 years of experience for 15 units of college work except in the case of emergency teachers who had not attended college at all.

A later law allowed specified years of experience to be applied in lieu of training to raise the certificate grade higher. It also required certification for all professional personnel, administrative as well as instructional. This certificate could be obtained by additional units of course work beyond that taken by other teachers. Finally, the law established the threefold nature of teacher education as including: (1) A broad general education consisting of about one-third of a 4-year course; (2) preparation in the field of professional education of not less than one-sixth of the course; and (3) specialized preparation in the teaching field and related fields of about one-half the course. It was designed to include general education, which had not been included previously, as well as courses in subject matter and in education for elementary teachers; and professional education for secondary teachers. Formerly, science and vocational teachers received neither general education nor teacher education. Now they, like all others, were to receive such training as well as training in their teaching subjects.

In 1951 approximately 1 out of 4 teachers in the elementary school and 1 out of 10 in the LSS had not met the minimum standard of 1 year of training above secondary school required for a temporary teaching certificate. This group which had not met the standard formed a bloc in the JTU and sought to lower the standards of certification. The law was amended to extend to 1962 the time when experience could be applied to up-grading. This amendment allowed inadequately trained teachers to raise their certification from temporary to 2d class by counting their experience as training and supplementing it with a few miscellaneous 1- to 2-unit short courses, such as conferences or workshops of several days to a week or so in duration plus some extension or correspondence work. This plan tended to obviate their going back to the university. It tended to defeat the purpose of the original certification law to assure teachers with broad training. Later, the number of credits required for each type of certification also was lowered.

In the new 4-year universities, prestige went to the student who took the full 4-year course. Few took the 2-year course, and the number graduating was inadequate to meet the need.

To improve the training of teacher-education staffs of the new universities—in August 1951 some 70 percent were university graduates[15]—the Ministry began a program of special education for this group. Even with a restricted budget for education from 1949–50 on, it provided refresher courses at the university for at least 100 teachers of former normal schools and others. Each year the number of teachers getting these courses at Government expense was increased and the time lengthened until by the end of the Occupation it was 10 months. The program enabled many instructors to complete their university education or to specialize. Normal school instructors were also included among the scholars sent to the U. S. in 1949–51 for a year's study on GARIOA funds. In addition, administrators of the new universities were given the opportunity to visit educational institutions in the U. S. under 3-month travel grants to leaders in education.

Institute for Educational Leadership.—One of the inservice teacher training enterprises was the Institute for Educational Leadership carried on by the Ministry and CIE from 1948 to 1952. The Japanese leaders were receptive to bringing a staff of education specialists from the U. S. to serve with Japanese leaders as resource consultants for a series of workshops. Minister of Education Amano said, "the invited American educators with their wisdom, high intelligence, and valuable experiences, would contribute a great deal to our new education just started."[16]

After the Board of Education Law was passed in 1948 and educational control was decentralized to local boards, it was realized that inexperienced superintendents of education who were responsible for administering the new schools and untrained teacher consultants who had the task of supervising teachers and principals, needed specialized training. To provide this training, these officials were brought to centers. By living and studying together for a period of 3 days to 12 weeks in a friendly, cooperative atmosphere, they began to understand democratic procedures in their respective areas. The coverage was extended to include all types of personnel necessary to Japan's reorganization of her system, including professors of education, university administrators, student guidance leaders, and youth leaders.

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[15] Note that this figure represented a considerable improvement over the 49 percent of the regular normal school staffs which were university graduates in late 1947.

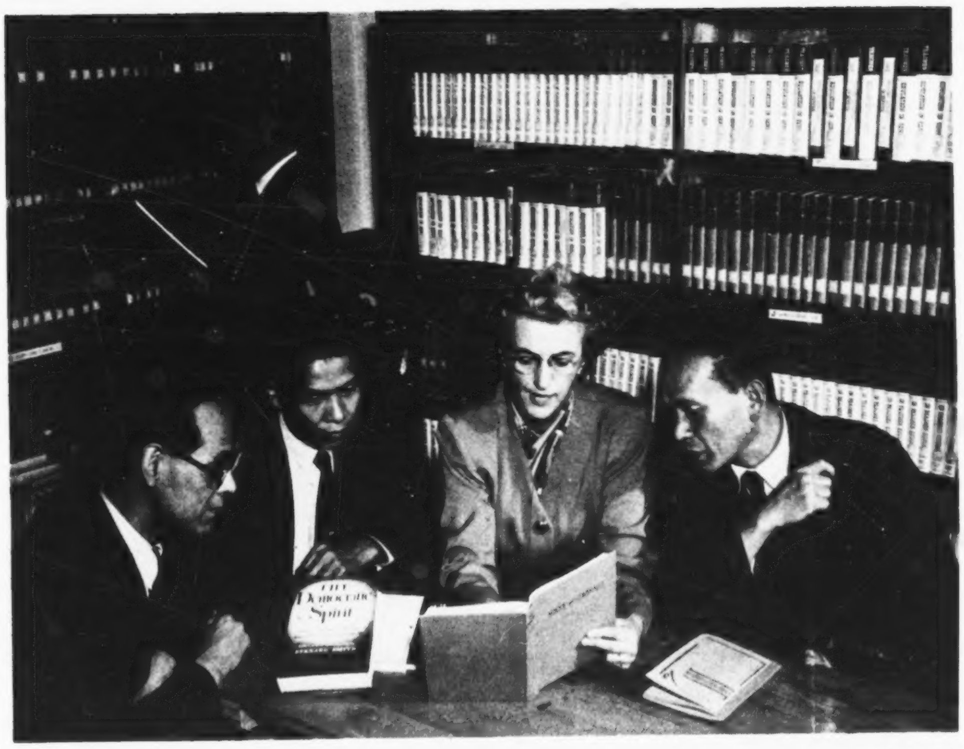
[16] Ministry of Education, *A Brief History of Institute for Educational Leadership in Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1953), p. 2. (Text in Japanese and in English.)

Planned and financed jointly by the Ministry and CIE, the program had the participation of professors and administrators from Japan's leading universities. Together with the educators from the U. S., they served as resource consultants. The Ministry provided the budget for the program, including traveling and lodging expenses for participants. In the early days of the program when the food shortage was still acute, the Ministry contributed to the morale of the institutes by providing the best board and lodgings conditions permitted. CIE provided the universities with libraries on professional education. Not only scholars, but officials and leaders of business were invited to discuss their specialties with the workshop groups. Field trips and individual projects were varied with group study and lectures.

During the 8 IFEL sessions a total of almost 10,000 Japanese educators completed the courses of study in almost every specialty related to professional education. Graduates of IFEL began serving as superintendents of education with prefectural and local boards of education, while a nucleus of trained teacher-consultants provided leadership to local school administrators and teachers in nearly every Prefecture. Some shared their experience by holding local workshops of their own. IFEL reached some 42,000 professors of education and psychology, attached school principals and teachers, and teacher-education personnel in certain fields in which little or no professional training had been available, such as homemaking, agriculture, health and physical education, guidance, and librarianship. One year, 1950–51, IFEL specialized in improvement of instruction in teacher-education institutions.

To 15 universities in 5 geographic regions, the program brought experience in an advanced type of professional training for mature scholars. The last 2 courses were offered by the universities as part of their regular curriculum. After U. S. funds were no longer available, the Japanese continued the program for an additional year.

Besides the longer-term IFEL sessions, there were 12 related workshops or conferences of about 3 days in length for inservice



US Army photograph

One of many textbook collections given by the US.

training of university administrators and former normal school personnel. The results of their discussions sometimes appeared in a yearbook or were the basis for the starting of a journal. A college president good naturedly complained that they were not workshops but "overworkshops."

A common procedure was for the workshop conferees to organize a professional association for their specialty at the end of the session and to establish contact with similar organizations abroad for exchange of professional materials. Others of the associations were already of long-standing but had been dormant during the war years; they were now revived and reorganized on a democratic basis. When the normal schools reorganized into amalgamated universities, a number of the separate associations (some dating back to 30 years before) joined together in the Japan Association of Colleges for Teacher Education with several affiliated sections for administrative heads, professors of education and specialized fields, and attached school personnel. Its purposes were not unlike those of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

In addition to the hundred Teacher-Education Library Centers provided by Occupation authorities and containing a collection of a hundred professional books in English, members of the non-governmental American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education supplemented the collections with educational journals, bulletins, catalogs, and textbooks. Translation service was undertaken by some of the IFEL graduates.

At the end of the Occupation normal schools had been amalgamated with the universities, and at least one national university in each Prefecture offered courses in teacher education. Training programs had reached virtually all of the teachers of Japan, and inservice programs were being developed at the universities in cooperation with prefectural boards of education. Certification requirements had been set up, and teachers and administrators were required to have professional training and hold certificates.

The Present Period

Many problems carried over into the post-treaty world. Among them are problems not uncommon around the world—those relating to financing and status of teacher education.

As to the preparation of teachers on the job, the percentage of temporary assistant teachers has gradually decreased. In 1952–53 uncertified elementary teachers were 20 percent of the total. Toward the end of the Occupation, the Ministry launched a 10-year program of inservice training making it possible for increased numbers of teachers to be certified. This program is evidently proving effective.

The supply of teachers is catching up with the demand. It was 88 percent of the demand in 1955–56; then the projected ratio of teachers to openings jumped to 98 percent for 1958–59. This situation, it is claimed, is making it possible for the Government to raise the requirements for teaching. Since the treaty, the Government has progressively cut down on the number of entrants to the 2-year programs and increased the number in the 4-year programs. As another indirect means of raising the standards for teaching, the Ministry by directive of April 1957 cut down on the number of entrants to the universities of liberal arts and education.

There is some unemployment among teachers where hard pressed Prefectures are restricting the number of new teachers and inducing older ones to retire. The shortage of teachers is then made up by doubling up in classes, sometimes beyond the allowed 50 students. The JTU holds that if the legal limit in classes were observed, more teachers would be employed and there would be no unemployment.

One of the noticeable factors in teacher education in Japan is a developing stability. Education faculties of the former Imperial universities are increasing the number of chairs in education and producing recognized research; professional societies and the Teachers Union are active and working towards raising standards; the Government inservice traning program is gradually eliminating the number of uncertified teachers. Educational specialists trained since the war are moving into positions in the Government and in higher education.

The fruit of Japan's teacher education program is seen in the reaction of the Japanese public to the present teachers. In a nationwide public opinion poll in late 1957, 68 percent of the respondents said they had confidence in the present day elementary and LSS teachers and would willingly trust their children to them; 13 percent said they did not have enough confidence in them. As regards their academic ability and teaching techniques, 63 percent expressed general satisfaction, while 13 percent were dissatisfied; 58 percent felt they fulfilled their role as educators and were enthusiastic; 16 percent disagreed, and 26 percent did not know.[17] The general satisfaction of the public with their children's teachers would seem to indicate that the teacher-education institutions are accomplishing their mission.

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[17] Naikaku Soridaijin Kambo Shingishitsu, *Kyoiku Mondai ni Kansuru Yoron Chosa Kekka* (Tokyo, Naikaku Soridaijin Kambo Shingishitsu, Showa 32, 12 gatsu), 15-18. [The Prime Minister's Secretariat Councillors' Room. The Results of a Public Opinion Poll on Educational Problems (Tokyo, the Secretariat, December 1957), p. 15-18] (Mimeo.)

CHAPTER VII

Vocational Education

Initial Modernization Epoch

NEED FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION was recognized at the inception of modern education in Japan. When the Department of Education was established in 1871, a Bureau of Technical Education was set up to plan for agricultural, commercial, nautical, fisheries schools, and trade schools. Recognition was accorded these schools in 1894 when the National Government agreed to subsidize vocational education. In 1899 an Imperial ordinance concerning vocational schools stated that the aim of vocational education in agricultural, industrial, and commercial schools was to impart the knowledge and art essential to those engaged in industry and to develop character. In 1903, an ordinance concerning professional schools was promulgated, and the Ministry undertook to organize and guide education in these schools.

During and after World War I vocational education gradually was introduced into higher elementary education. Once technical schools were established, it was difficult to persuade parents to send their children to them rather than to middle schools for the academic track. Economic factors of supply and demand for technical as opposed to white-collar workers, however, prevailed, and by 1937, there were more students in vocational and technical schools than in any other type of secondary institution.

As was true of the other branches of education, the Ministry directed and controlled vocational education. Occupations for sons were chosen by their fathers, and youth fitted themselves into the jobs to which they were assigned. The apprenticeship system in the small household industries, intended as a form of vocational training, sometimes became a means for obtaining inexpensive child labor.

Vocational education was offered at several levels: (1) Elementary schools, which provided some training for farmers, fishermen, and factory workers; (2) part-time youth schools, which offered simple courses in agriculture and, in some cases, industrial work, fisheries, or business; and (3) vocational schools for those graduating from elementary or from higher elementary school offering work for boys in preparation for middle-level occupations in agriculture, fisheries, industry, and commerce, and for girls in agriculture and domestic science; and (4) higher technical schools, which offered specialized courses to train higher grade technicians. There were 16,431 vocational and technical schools reported as of 1934.[1]

Vocational schools in prewar Japan specialized in job training; practically no general education was included in their program.

Democratization Epoch

The Early Period

The U. S. Education Mission explained, in the following statement, the need for a new kind of vocational education in Japan:

> Japan needs trained hands as well as educated minds to rebuild her homes, cities, factories and cultural institutions. There is no better guarantee for democracy in Japan than a body of skilled, employed, and informed workmen. It is an asset no less moral than industrial.
>
> In order to create such a bulwark of democracy, the educators of Japan must help create the same respect for those who work with tools as for those who work only with their minds.
>
> Creativity and noble impulse are not, and never have been, the monopoly of the scholar. . . . There should be furnished a variety of vocational experiences, under well-trained staff members.[2]

The Vocational Course Committee, appointed by the Ministry of Education and composed of teachers, supervisors, and specialists, drew up new courses of study. Its philosophy was reflected in the Ministry's handbook for the reorganization of the school system, which said that purpose of the LSS was to explore a number of vocations and specified a minimum of 4 hours per week of vocational or homemaking training for each of the 3 years. Immediately after the war there were difficulties in getting teachers and equipment for these courses. Rather than provide exploratory courses, many LSS, for example, offered agriculture in the 7th grade, without electives.

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[1] Tsuneo Tajiri, Commercial Education and International Mutual Service, *Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations, Tokyo, Japan: August 2–7, 1937* (Tokyo, Japanese Education Association, World Conference Committee, 1938), vol. IV, p. 141.

[2] *Report of the United States Education Mission* (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 18. (Department of State Publication 2579, Far Eastern Series 11.)

Vocational education at the lower secondary level was required under Article 36 of the School Education Law: "In lower secondary school education, efforts shall be made . . . to cultivate the fundamental knowledge and skill of the vocations required in the society, the attitude to respect labor and the ability to select their future course according to their individuality." Article 42 outlined the aim of the USS in vocational studies: To make the students skilled in the technical arts.

Vocational and technical education sections.—The importance of vocational education was reflected in the creation in 1949 of a vocational education section in the Ministry's Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education and a technical education section in the Bureau of Higher Education and Science. They were designed to give leadership in developing suitable courses in agriculture, commerce, fisheries, industry, and homemaking at the secondary level, and in specialized technical occupations at the post-secondary level. The vocational education section drew up a plan for survey courses in the lower secondary curriculum, and regional workshops were held throughout Japan to launch the plan.

The distinctive feature of the program was freedom of choice in vocations according to ability. A vocational guidance course committee organized on a national level developed a vocational guidance program which consisted of curriculums, course outlines, and materials for use in guidance and counseling. The textbook in vocational guidance which the committee produced was supplemented by information pamphlets on about 300 different jobs in Japan. The latter were prepared under the sponsorship of the Japan Vocational Guidance Association and the Vocational Education Association.

Job placement was provided for by law in 1949. Under this law, the Ministry of Labor cooperated with local schools and colleges in placing students in part-time and full-time employment, and an experimental public employment security office was set up in Tokyo. Similar cooperative placement offices were set up in the Prefectures.

Machine shop curriculum.—In the curriculum revision for USS, 85 units were required for graduation, of which 38 were for general education and 47 could be devoted to vocational training. Table 12 presents a view of the suggested curriculum for a student in the vocational machine shop course.

Agricultural education.—The national course of study for agricultural education in USS was revised in 1948. From a number of unrelated and specialized subjects, not coordinated with the student's home-farm activities, agricultural education became a course

Table 12.—3-year program for a machine shop major

Type of course by subject	Hours per week by grade[1]			Total hours per week
	10th	11th	12th	
Compulsory general education	16	11	11	38
Health and physical education	3	3	3	9
Japanese	3	3	3	9
Mathematics	5	----	----	5
Science-physics	----	5	----	5
Social studies	5	----	5	10
Compulsory vocational	8	10	12	30
Designing and drawing	2	3	4	9
Machine shop and materials	2	2	2	6
Machine shop practices	4	5	6	15
Optional	5	7	5	17
Chemistry	----	2	----	2
Engines	----	----	3	3
English	5	----	----	5
Mathematics	----	3	----	3
Outlines of electricity	----	2	----	2
Shop-management	----	----	2	2
Grand total	29	28	28	85

[1] Course lasts 35 weeks a year.

Source: Adapted from: Ministry of Labor, *Present Situation of Vocational Training in Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1957), p. 10.

of study in general agriculture as a single subject with classroom instruction and practical training consisting of supervised farming projects on the home farm. To adapt the national course of study to local conditions, Ministry vocational education specialists served as resource personnel in regional workshops held throughout the

Courtesy of Ministry of Education

Learning by doing: 12th grade—Tokyo Agricultural USS.

country. Selected agricultural schools then put the new course into use for a year. On the basis of demonstrated success, the course was adopted widely in agricultural schools.

The home-project method, or "supervised farming," was a departure from the traditional practice of mass student work on school farms. The home-project method encouraged establishment of small projects on the home farm. These projects were managed and operated by the student under the supervision of a classroom teacher and were intended as a profitable enterprise for the student. Farm boy, teacher, and father engaged in the cooperative venture, and continuous contact with local farm experimental stations was encouraged.

Hundreds of inservice training programs in methods were necessary to introduce the new courses of study in USS throughout the rural regions of Japan. Preservice training for USS vocational teacher trainees was provided in 12 universities scattered over Japan, where 1 had existed before. Professors of vocational education in each of the 12 institutions were brought to Tokyo for a 90-day training program; a professor or administrator from 8 of the 12 universities attended summer school in the U. S.

In connection with the supervised farming projects, school agricultural clubs were started in every Prefecture. A club—Future Farmers of Japan (FFJ)—became a means of developing leadership qualities among farm boys. Parallel but smaller organizations—Green Cross Clubs (forestry) and Rising Sun Fishermen—in USS were started in several Prefectures.

Homemaking education.—Homemaking education for girls traditionally included household arts such as the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, cooking, and sewing as a part of preparation for marriage. The program put into effect in 1949 broadened the scope of homemaking education to include family relations, child development, home management, consumer problems, and home care of the sick as well as cooking and sewing. It also utilized the home-project method.

The curriculum developed for USS included 2 years of homemaking with better home living as its basic purpose. In the LSS, homemaking units were required each year. Demonstration schools were designated in each Prefecture in which a school agreed to organize a broad course, provide teacher supervision for home projects, improve equipment, organize advisory councils, and aid in upgrading teachers and teaching techniques. Thousands of parents, teachers, and administrators visited these schools, heard the girls report on their home projects, and studied the model kitchens they helped to make. Partly as a result of such visits, other schools adopted the plan.

The club—Future Homemakers of Japan (FHJ)—was organized in a fashion similar to the FFJ except that it brought into its membership city as well as rural school youth.

Vocational Education Promotion Law.—In 1950, an exception to Article 55 of the School Education Law was authorized by Law No. 103, which permitted the establishment of junior colleges and, in effect, permitted vocational and semiprofessional training at the college level. On June 11, 1951, vocational education formally was recognized with the promulgation of the Vocational Education Promotion Law.[3] This Japanese law provided for the improvement at Government expense of the content and method of instruction, the facilities and equipment for laboratory and shop work in public and private schools, the training of teachers in this field, and the organization by national and local authorities of councils on vocational education to advise on the problems of promoting effective vocational education. The USS were to receive the largest share of the national moneys. Smaller amounts were to be given to LSS and to universities. The latter were to be held responsible for training vocational teachers.

The Present Period

Enrollments indicate that vocational education may not be as popular as academic preparation for white-collar employment. In the comprehensive USS, the college preparatory course is taken by about 60 percent of the students while 40 percent take vocational courses though about 25 percent of the total student body go on to college. In the meantime Japan's need for craftsmen, engineers, and technicians goes partially unmet.

In response to certain criticism noted previously, that the 20 units of general education in the 2-year junior college were taking too much time from technical preparation, the number of units in general education was reduced from 20 to 12, leaving the balance of 48 to be devoted to vocational education. Many Japanese educators are concerned because the junior college graduates and graduates of night university have difficulty in getting work in competition with graduates of regular 4-year institutions. Various industrialists of the Nation indicate they would like to see the junior college become a technical-institute type of school directly serviceable to industry, and with less general education in the program.

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[3] See Law No. 228 in: SCAP, CIE, *Post-War Developments in Japanese Education* (Tokyo, GHQ, 1952), vol. II, p. 163–70.

In rural districts there are many almost exclusively vocational USS. All are required to provide 38 units of general education. Visitors often report on the high morale and excellent vocational courses, particularly in agriculture, which these schools have. Supervised farming and home projects continue to be a means of training. The organizations for future farmers and future homemakers are burgeoning—the former with an estimated membership of 125,000 in USS and the latter with some 250,000 members. The 1958 theme of the FHJ is "improvement of clothing." Other activities include visiting orphanages, raising money by holding bazaars, and providing aid to the stricken in time of catastrophe such as flood or fire.

For some years now, the FFJ has invited representatives of the Future Farmers of America to Japan and has exhibited its programs in agricultural high schools and welcomed the visitors to National FFJ conventions. In 1957, the convention in Sendai was attended by some 4,000 farm boys and girls, representing every Prefecture in Japan. Besides the speech-making, there was a series of professional-type livestock shows. And there were contests in farm surveying, grading land, assembling and disassembling internal combustion farm motors, identifying grains, and crop-judging. A public speaking contest was held for girls studying agriculture.

The representatives from the U. S. saw a number of agricultural programs in USS. Some also saw homemaking courses. Some of the Japanese students discussed their problems in competing for higher education. Since their classwork does not prepare them for the academic type of entrance examination to universities, very few, they indicated, were able to go on to college.

The training program in vocational agriculture included class work in science and theory and considerable practice on the school farms and in the greenhouses. There was a shortage of reference and textbooks. Large classes were the rule. Schools ran 6 days a week, throughout the calendar year. In several schools there were dormitories for students unable to commute. Unlike prewar days, many of these agricultural schools are coeducational with girls representing 25 to 50 percent of the student body.

The school farm is an integral part of the practical training program. The farms range from a few acres to 400. The compulsory farm work is performed by classes under the direction of a teacher. Livestock and crops common to the local areas are raised on the school farms. Records are maintained on crops and live-

Courtesy of Embassy of Japan

The rice is on! Attached USS: Mukogawa Gakuin Women's University—Nishinomiya City.

stock similar to those kept by experiment stations. Flowers were an important product of many schools, particularly those near the large urban areas. School farms often produce a large part of the foodstuffs for the dormitory. Supervised farming projects are a part of agricultural training throughout Japan. Some students have home projects. The plan has not yet been fully developed because: (1) land is so scarce that a farm family has to use every inch of it for production, and (2) scarcity of funds affects the amount of investment in a project. The school, on the other hand, has certain capital and land to develop a school farm; so the primary practical teaching is done there, supplemented by the supervised home farming projects. Several interesting experiments observed by the visiting FFA representatives in 1957 were the use of an artificial pond to produce a fish crop, a dairy project in the northeast region, a nursery for flowers and shrubs near a large city, and a small peach orchard and a greenhouse in Kyushu. Agricultural experiment stations are available for student observation as a part of their training.

In homemaking courses at the upper secondary level, the dream of some of their instructors for modern home economics laboratories is slowly coming true, due in large measure to the cooperation of school principals, PTA groups, homemaking teachers, and teacher consultants. The major costs of remodeling school practice kitchens are borne locally; in the more prosperous areas remodeling has been accomplished. Food laboratories came first, then clothing laboratories. Modern laboratories are now installed in about half the USS—a significant development in the mind of a Japanese observer since "home economics has been and still is, to some extent, the forlorn stepchild in the curriculum of our coeducational schools."[4]

Recent developments have occurred in vocational guidances at the secondary level. In November 1953, the Ministry revised the Enforcement Regulations of the School Education Law, providing that both LSS and USS shall have vocational counselors. As of December 1954, the boards of education had formally appointed part-time consultants (trained teacher-counselors) in 27 Prefectures, covering a little over half the schools. At present, though some 40 universities provide training required for certification of vocational counselors, there is a shortage of trained personnel in this field and, as yet, not enough budget for schools to employ full-time counselors even if they were available.

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[4] Chiyono Matsushima, Japan's Homemaking Departments, *Practical Home Economics*, 33: 12–13, May 1955.

CHAPTER VIII

Special Programs

THE TRADITIONAL CONFUCIAN HIERARCHY of relationships included a man's obligation to his prince, his relatives, and friends but excluded strangers. The Buddhist religion generally looked upon physical and mental defects as resulting from a person's Karma—the cause and effect of previous actions. The conclusion reached by the Buddha was that "life is painful." Over the years, his adherents interpreted this conclusion to mean that there is little which can be done about suffering. These attitudes delayed the growth of public programs for care of the handicapped and public welfare activities in general.

Initial Modernization Epoch

Limited Education for Handicapped Children

Problems of the blind, the deaf, the mute, the mentally deficient, and other handicapped children were more or less ignored by Government in the early years of Japan's modern period. This practice did not mean that the handicapped children were not cared for—the family system provided warm and tender care. It meant, however, that education was limited to such informal training as members of the family could give or vocational training—as in the case of the blind—in the skills of massage, acupuncture,[1] moxa-cautery, and music. Such occupations were traditional monopolies of the blind. The first Institute for the Blind and Dumb was privately opened in Kyoto in 1878 and later taken over by the city. In 1880, the Government in Tokyo took over an institution for the blind started by 4 Japanese and a missionary from the U. S.

Christian missionaries pioneered schools for the care and training of handicapped children. Institutions such as the Yokohama Christion Blind School introduced the then latest devices from the West for special education. The Government often helped finance these private institutions with grants.

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[1] This method of treatment, borrowed from China, is one in which the skin is punctured with needles. Moxa-cautery is a counter-irritant treatment produced by burning little mounds of the skin.

In 1923, a national law was passed making it compulsory for all Prefectures to establish at least 1 school for the blind, deaf, and mute. Shortly before World War II, an ordinance provided that there should be at least 2 schools for the handicapped in each Prefecture—1 for the blind, and 1 for the deaf.

By 1941, as indicated in table 13 below giving statistics on special education for 1941–57, there were 72 schools for the blind and 56 for the deaf.

Table 13.—Statistics on special education: 1941–57

Year	Schools for the blind			Schools for the deaf			Schools for the otherwise handicapped		
	Number of schools	Number of teachers	Number of pupils	Number of schools	Number of teachers	Number of pupils	Number of schools	Number of teachers	Number of pupils
1941	72	720	5,485	56	793	6,843	------	------	------
1942	77	750	5,704	65	758	7,281	------	------	------
1943	79	707	5,920	62	817	8,467	------	------	------
1944	77	800	5,956	64	836	8,421	------	------	------
1945	75	836	5,750	61	806	7,514	------	------	------
1946	90	707	4,806	63	755	6,802	------	------	------
1947	73	724	4,921	64	858	7,238	------	------	------
1948	74	884	4,457	64	1,101	7,930	------	------	------
1949	70	1,094	4,396	72	1,498	9,964	1	7	89
1950	72	1,268	5,155	76	1,835	11,600	3	15	110
1951	72	1,493	6,161	76	2,099	13,345	3	15	165
1952	72	1,664	7,136	77	2,400	14,784	3	14	171
1953	75	1,815	[1] 7,901	84	2,647	16,143	5	31	268
1954	75	1,911	[1] 8,604	86	2,847	17,555	5	38	326
1955	75	2,025	[1] 9,090	89	3,036	18,694	5	38	358
1956	74	2,039	[1] 9,460	90	3,182	19,505	9	75	610
1957	------	------	[1] 9,864	------	------	20,044	------	------	1,701

[1] Figure includes children who are crippled.

Source: For 1941–56 figures, see: Office of the Prime Minister, Bureau of Statistics, *Japan Statistical Yearbook: 1957* (Tokyo, the Office, October 1957), p. 444–45. Text in Japanese and in English. For 1957 figures, see: Ministry of Education, *A Survey of Japanese Education with Statistics: 1957* (Tokyo, the Ministry, October 1957), Series No. 1, p. 6.

These schools were of both elementary and middle school grade, with enrollment limited to children over 6 years of age. For the blind, the curriculum specialized in music and certain semi-medical arts. A Japanese modification of braille was used to a limited extent; for the most part pupils were taught by ear and memory. In the schools for the deaf, the curriculum was devoted primarily to drawing, sewing, and the industrial arts such as carving.

In general, education provided in these schools was recognized by the Japanese as being meager in quantity and quality. It was said to serve about 50 percent of the blind and about 33 percent of the deaf children of school age who had been identified up to that time as needing such training. The partially sighted, the hard of hearing, and the mentally handicapped were privately cared for in the family. The national compulsory education laws were not applied to the handicapped.

Democratization Epoch

The Early Period

The School Education Law of 1947 made education compulsory for the handicapped and partially handicapped, including the blind and the partially sighted, the deaf and the hard of hearing, those with speech difficulties, and those who were mentally and/or physically weak. It also required each Prefecture to establish schools for the blind, the deaf, and for the otherwise handicapped, and provided that, in addition, schools at the elementary, lower secondary, and upper secondary levels might provide special classes and visiting teachers for the separate education of such children. To insure the education of the handicapped, the protectors (parents and guardians) were required to send handicapped children to the regular elementary and LSS or to the special schools set up for such children aged 6 to 15.

At the same time the law recognized that facilities, teachers, and materials were inadequate to provide immediately for all handicapped children. Therefore, compulsory education did not go into effect all at once. The law provided that it apply to 6-year-olds in 1948, 6- and 7-year-olds in 1949, and so on until those from 6 to 15 years of age were in school. The mentally handicapped were excluded from the compulsory provisions of the law for the time being.

Many obstacles hampered the implementation of the law: Financing, shortage of qualified teachers, lack of equipment and methods for identifying the handicapped, and lack of curriculum materials and facilities, as well as parental resistance to sending handicapped children to school, and the traditional attitude that care of the handicapped was an individual family concern.

Expansion of special education.—A workshop for 180 teachers of the handicapped was held in Tokyo during the summer of 1947. These participants then served as teacher-educators in their own specialties. Guides dealing with teaching the blind, the deaf, and the mentally retarded were prepared by a large committee of specialists.

Provisions for education of the blind and of the deaf, though recognized as inadequate, were also recognized as better than those for the mentally and otherwise handicapped. As table 13 shows, the latter program did not start until 1949. Appropriations were made and a number of schools and dormitories were built for the blind and the deaf. Regular public schools began to set up special classes. Reported by 1950 were 72 special schools for the blind attended by 5,155 children at elementary, lower, and upper secondary levels and 76 schools for the deaf attended by 11,600 children at the same 3 levels. Reported for the mentally retarded were 3 schools with 110 pupils. In the same year, there were 1,268 teachers listed in the schools for the blind and 1,835 in the schools for the deaf. There were, in addition, 512 special classes in regular schools, most of them for children physically weak and mentally retarded. Two each were provided for the deaf and the blind.

School-lunch programs.—In November 1946, because of generally poor nutrition following the war and the undernourished condition of many children in the public schools, officials of the various Japanese Government ministries and of several SCAP sections cooperated in reinstating a school-lunch program.[2] At first with released Japanese military canned food and later with surplus milk and foodstuffs from the U. S., elementary schools began serving lunches providing from 300 to 600 calories each to more than 7½ million school children, 5 times a week.

Model school-lunch programs were set up in several Prefectures with the assistance of local PTA's. Numerous workshops and conferences were held to train school-lunch personnel. A manual was prepared and distributed by the Ministry to serve as a guide on nutrition and on procedures for administering the school-lunch program.

From October 1949 to the end of 1950, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)[3] milk was served, and a school-lunch section was set up in the Ministry. Complete lunches were made possible by wheat and milk from the U. S. supplied by Government and Relief in Occupied Areas (GARIOA) funds. When GARIOA funds for this purpose were exhausted in 1951, the Government of Japan assumed full responsibility for it.

In order to discover the parents' attitudes toward the school-lunch program, the National Public Opinion Research Institute in 1951 asked: "Are your children happy or unhappy with the school-lunch program?" The majority (65 percent) stated they were happy; 19 percent, unhappy; 10 percent were undecided; and 6 percent said it depended on the kind of food. When asked: "Do you approve the present school-lunch program after considering cost, etc.?" approval without qualification came from 78 percent of those questioned; approval with some qualifications from 10 percent, disapproval from 6 percent, with 6 percent undecided. Here is an indication of the success of the program.

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[2] A school-lunch program was started in Japan in 1932, but it had been suspended during the war.

[3] By United Nations General Assembly Resolution 802 (VIII) on October 6, 1953, the name was changed to United Nations Children's Fund; the symbol UNICEF was retained.

The Present Period

Special education section established.—With the coming of prosperity and better stabilization of the economy, increased finances were allocated to special education. In August 1952, a special education section was set up in the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education in the Ministry. Its first jobs were to devise measures to improve the content and the methods of special education, to get handicapped children into special schools or to get the regular schools to establish more special classes, and to establish standards for identifying children who need special education.

According to Miss Lois Cramer, co-founder of the Japan Deaf and Dumb School in Setagaya, Tokyo:

> During the past 10 years [1947–57] Japan has made tremendous progress in the training of deaf children. Some amplifiers have been adopted and the teaching of lip reading has replaced the sign language. The deaf children are able to learn to speak, so they should not be labeled as dumb.[4]

The co-founder reported that there were over a hundred schools for the deaf, teaching over 20,000 children.[5] Education for the handicapped continues to be largely vocational, and it is provided for in schools for the blind and deaf, by the Vocational Education Promotion Law.

In May 1956 handicapped children of school age in Japan were estimated to exceed 1¼ million of which 840,000 were reported to be mentally deficient, 11,000 blind, an additional 13,000 partially sighted, 17,000 deaf, and an additional 19,000 partially deaf. The remaining 376,000 were listed as crippled or having speech defects or being otherwise handicapped. Figures a year later (May 1957) indicated that there were a total of 31,609 handicapped children provided for in special schools and 23,069 in special classes of regular schools, for a grand total of 54,678 children receiving special education.[6] The Ministry of Education concludes that even though the number of schools and special classes is being increased gradually year by year, "the ratio of the enrolled as against the whole number of the handicapped school-age children is very low. This is because there [are] inadequate facilities for the handicapped, transportation being one, which makes it necessary for them to postpone their enrollment . . . most of the crippled and mentally subnormal children are enrolled in public schools."[7]

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[4] *Japan Times*, May 12, 1957.

[5] Loc. cit.

Now beginning to receive special education are the mentally retarded; many still remain within the bosom of the family. Public sentiment in favor of better care for them at public expense was frequently reflected in newspaper editorials during 1957. The Association for the Education of the Physically and Mentally Handicapped in Japan urged that compulsory education be extended to all such children.

Revision of child welfare law.—In April 1957, the Government took action. The Diet revised the Child Welfare Law to provide for the building of Government homes for the mentally retarded and for continuing aid after such persons reach legal maturity at age 18. During 1958, the first such home was opened in Tokorozawa for 100 children. The law also provided subsidies for local public or private day schools for the mentally retarded.[8]

A program to bring education to the several thousand children in tuberculosis sanatoriums also was recently launched. Special classes of 50 students each were to be set up in 48 sanatoriums to provide elementary and lower secondary education. These classes were attached to the nearest public schools from which teachers were borrowed. The Government pays education and medical costs for these classes.[9]

Enlarged nutrition program.—The school-lunch program is reported to be on a firm basis. Since 1952, the Government has borne half the cost of importing U. S. wheat and the PTA's have paid the rest. A National School Lunch Law was passed in 1954 providing Government subsidies for elementary schools that want to improve their kitchen facilities. By a March 1956 amendment, this law was extended to cover regular LSS and special schools at the same level.

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[6] Ministry of Education, *A Survey of Japanese Education with Statistics: 1957* [Tokyo], the Ministry, October 1957), Series No. 1, p. 6.

[7] Ministry of Education, *Education in 1955: Annual Report of the Ministry of Education* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1957), p. 33.

[8] *Japan Times*, April 25, 1957.

[9] *Japan Times*, Dec. 16, 1957.

Courtesy of Ministry of Education

School lunch: Kojimachi Elementary School—Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo.

Recently the program has begun to be extended to the part-time USS.

About 60 percent of the elementary students receive school lunches of some kind; about 7 percent of lower secondary students get them. The cost averages about 350 yen (97 cents) per month per child for a meal of about 600 calories consisting of a bowl of hot milk, a small loaf of bread (larger than a roll), and a side dish such as curry, stew, or fried fish. During the morning, pupils see a sample lunch in a showcase.

Kitchens seen on visits by the author were clean and the food was well-prepared.[10] Bread was baked on the spot. Students wearing white caps, aprons, and sometimes wearing face masks carried the food to the class and divided it into portions for each of their classmates. In the 1st and 2d grades, the teachers did the serving. Teachers ate with the pupils and the lunch period was a time for relaxation. For those who cannot afford to pay, expenses often are defrayed by the local government, or the PTA, with the names of recipients being kept secret.

Besides improvement in the children's health, children have an educational experience. They learn about nutrition and hygienic food-handling. They also get to know each other and have a sense of belonging; differences in economic and social status recede. Through the PTA, the program also involves the home and the community. Much of the food purchasing, preparation, and handling is done by mothers, and the PTA often has donated funds for construction of kitchens.

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[10] See: Ministry of Education, *Education in Japan, Graphic Presentation: 1957* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1957), p. 93, for statement that one-fourth of the schools have kitchens meeting Ministry standards and the National School Lunch Law is aimed at improving the rest.

A 1957 Ministry survey of the physiques of 5 million schoolchildren showed them to be taller and heavier and to have "better balanced figures" than their counterparts of 1936. The 12-year-olds, born soon after the war, showed the greatest gains.[11] No doubt, these gains can be attributed in part to the school-lunch program and in part to the general improvement in dietary habits and improved living conditions in recent years.

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[11] *Asahi Evening News*, June 28, 1957.

CHAPTER IX

Social Education

SOCIAL EDUCATION—the Japanese equivalent of adult education in the U. S.—dates from Meiji determination that none be left in ignorance, regardless of class.

Initial Modernization Epoch

In July 1929 a Bureau of Social Education was established formally in the Ministry of Education with responsibility for developing organized educational projects for adults and out-of-school youth. Its purposes were to fill a need created by the dislocation of persons and the partial breakdown of the traditional family system brought about by industrialization and to improve the national spirit. Later, the Bureau supported the cause of nationalism and through it the Government helped to educate the public for compliance with nationalist aims.

The Bureau of Social Education sponsored and worked through organized groups in society, such as youth, women's, and workers' groups. Methods included lectures by Government officials sent from Tokyo, extension courses, traveling exhibits, and museum activities. The program originated in the Ministry, was transmitted to the Prefectures, and then implemented at the prefectural and local levels. A number of inspectors were attached to the Social Education Bureau to supervise the local programs. Prefectures and cities had parallel social education sections in their departments of education which cooperated with the Tokyo headquarters and developed adult and youth education programs for each community. In small towns and villages, the central Government's programs were carried on chiefly through the traditional community meeting which representatives of each family attended. Through this means Government-inspired social education activities reached into the very homes of the Empire. Thus was provided a network of facilities for use by the Government in disseminating directives and mobilizing activities of citizens not enrolled in schools. During the nationalist period the army group mobilized social education institutions for the war effort.

Among the agencies sponsored and subsidized by the Bureau of Social Education were the nationwide Young Men's, Young Women's and Women's Associations (YMA, YWA, and WA).

The YMA enrolled boys on graduation from elementary school and kept them until they were conscripted at about age 20.[1] A majority of the young men in the town or village belonged, and the organization acted as a means of inducting young men into adult society and as a community service agency in time of emergency such as earthquakes, fires, and floods. It leaned heavily on the local school, utilizing the school plant for its meetings and the local teachers for its leadership in vocational and physical training. As the Nation approached the war, the YMA activities became increasingly military, with emphasis on drill under a local reservist. In later years, these youth groups were amalgamated into one centralized "control organization" called the Greater Japan Youth Association—an agency used by the Government in mobilizing young people for propaganda, war work, and civil defense activities.

The YWA, a parallel organization for girls, was concerned with social service, recreation, and training for marriage and motherhood. Girls studied cooking, sewing, and some physiology. This society was smaller and less active than the YMA, and girls dropped out of it at the time of approaching marriage.

Both groups were hierarchically organized with some 30,000 units located in cities, towns, and villages throughout the country. Above these units were district, prefectural, and at the top, a national federation as central organ. To the Japan Federation of Young Men's Associations and the Japan Federation of Young Women's Associations, the Ministry of Education annually paid grants-in-aid for the nationwide program. In 1935, there were roughly 2½ million boys and 1½ million girls in these organizations.

Most schools had a school supporters association or a juvenile guardians association. They were characterized by the same centralized control from prefectural or national federations. A principal function was to raise money to make up shortages in Government support of essential school programs or for such extra items as a piano or sports equipment. Such collections were, in effect, an additional school tax.

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[1] Eligibility for membership for 15 years after completion of compulsory education accounted for "youth" aged 30 to 40 participating in YM's and YWA's. Later, mature men and women were found to be the accepted leaders of youth organizations.

Japan had a public library system as early as 1899, when the Government enacted a library law.[2] Reportedly in 1902 there were 62 libraries; in 1927, some 4,300 of varying sizes. Each library was separate and independent. Though there was no unified organization, the library tended to be a storehouse for precious books—open to scholars, not the general public. Librarianship was not regarded as a career, and librarians received low pay. Financial support—from prefectural governments supplemented by national subsidies—was meager. Public libraries charged admission and a rental for books and materials. They were not reading and browsing places. Some contained great collections of the classics. In general, they were not service institutions for schools or the general public.

Democratization Epoch

The Early Period

On adult education, the U. S. Education Mission commented:

> A broad program of adult education is essential to any society that looks toward the highest development of its human resources . . .
>
> It is recommended, therefore, that the present adult education service of the Ministry of Education be revitalized, democratized, and given the prestige of an independent department . . .
>
> Japan's schools, colleges, and universities are a great potential force for giving impetus to adult education. The holding of evening classes in the schools, the strengthening of parent-teacher associations, and the opening of school buildings for discussions and forums—these are but a few of the services to adult education which could be offered . . .
>
> The tax-supported public library is another institution which fosters the spread of ideas . . .
>
> Public museums provide another opportunity for adult instruction . . .[3]

The former organizations for youth were abolished voluntarily at the beginning of the Occupation. The widespread fear that youth would succumb to communist appeals at a time of chaos caused the Ministry to make various efforts early in the Occupation to absorb them into some substitute overall youth organization under the leadership of local mayors, teachers, priests, and others.

On November 15, 1945, the Ministry set up a new Bureau of Social Education and sent a notification to prefectural governors on the promotion of social education, urging them to establish prefectural social education sections and embark upon social education.[4] One recommendation was to work through neighborhood associations, which later were abolished by Occupation authorities. A similar notification went to the heads of nearly all the schools in Japan suggesting that they make their school facilities available for social education in off-times and that they start extension courses.

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[2] Japan Library Association, *editor*, *Libraries in Japan* (Tokyo, the Association, 1957), p. 7.

[3] *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan* (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 44–46. (Department of State Publication 2579, Far Eastern Series 11.)

In the spring of 1946, specialists on adult education in CIE began working with officials of the Bureau of Social Education to plan a program independent of Government control. Japanese officials pointed to major obstacles in such a departure: Dearth of meeting places; shortage of leadership; poverty; and lack of a tradition for independent, private, voluntary organizations. The former youth school centers for prewar social educational activities were either destroyed or dilapidated. Who would provide leadership for voluntary organizations?

Leadership training, then, was among the first needs. Beginning in 1947, the Ministry, with CIE assistance, inaugurated a nationwide series of adult education conferences to last 3½ days at 2 places in each Prefecture. These conferences, designed to assist leaders of public and private agencies in developing local programs, were held annually during the Occupation. From 1947 to 1950 more than a hundred thousand trainees attended these meetings, including representatives of women's associations, youth organizations, PTA's, religious groups, labor unions, and Government officials, educators, and newspapermen.[5]

In 1948, SCAP brought in adult education leaders from the U. S. as consultants for an Institute for Education Leadership attended by 90 leaders of women's organizations and managers of citizens public halls.[6] Many of the Japanese went back to their communities and conducted followup programs for local leaders and workers.

The Ministry of Education sponsored annual specialized conferences for prefectural social education consultants to help them develop democratic programs. Many such leadership training institutes, summer "colleges" for laborers, and workshops for special groups were held at prefectural, regional, and national levels.

Another need was the strengthening of private organizations separated from Government subsidy and control. The national federation of prewar days—the Social Education Federation—was reorganized. It published materials, sponsored forums, and assisted local groups on request. The Parent-Teacher Association (PTA), patterned somewhat after the organization in the U. S., was introduced to replace the School Supporters Association. The Japanese Youth Association came back into being and was soon active in rural villages and small towns, taking in youth 15 to 30 as before the war, but under leaders from their own age group. They resumed their community service such as disaster relief, road building, census-taking, fire-watching, and local construction.

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[4] John M. Nelson, *The Adult-Education Program in Occupied Japan: 1946–1950* (Lawrence, Kans., University of Kansas, 1954), p. 125–26. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation.)

[5] SCAP, CIE, *Post-War Developments in Japanese Education* (Tokyo, GHQ, 1952), vol. I, p. 286.

[6] See p. 192 for a description of citizens public halls.

Social Education Law.[7]—The legal framework for the social education program was established by the Social Education Law prepared by the Bureau of Social Education and passed by the Diet in May 1949. It defined social education as "systematic activities of education (including physical education and recreation) primarily for out-of-school youths and adults."[8] To encourage local initiative, the law decentralized support and control of social education programs, placing responsibility for them on local boards of education. The Bureau's function was limited to professional and technical advice and guidance and such financial aid and supplies as were "within the limits of appropriated funds" to enable local communities to maintain a congenial environment where citizens could engage in "cultural and educational activities."[9]

A social education section was established in the secretariat of prefectural boards of education to help implement the program. In local communities, the law provided for lay social education advisory committees of school principals, representatives of voluntary agencies, and citizens to advise the boards of education. It provided for establishment and operation of citizens public halls and for utilization of school facilities for social education purposes. Libraries and museums, schools, and halls were included in an integrated program under the jurisdiction of the local board of education. The law also prescribed for youth classes, discussion meetings and lecture courses for adults, correspondence courses, audio-visual exhibits, athletic contests, and artistic groups, according to local need. Youth organizations and women's associations no longer were subsidized by the Ministry nor were they under the control of the Ministry or local public bodies.

Major institutions for carrying on social education were: (1)

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[7] **For full text, see: SCAP, CIE, *Post-War Developments in Japanese Education*, vol. II, p. 203–19.**

[8] **Ibid., Article 2, p. 203.**

[9] **Ibid., Articles 3 and 4, p. 203–4.**

Citizens public halls, (2) libraries, (3) museums, (4) film libraries, and (5) physical education and recreation facilities.

Citizens public halls were opened as centers for community activities. They provided citizens of rural fishing and farming villages with meeting places for study and discussion and for other activities in their leisure time. Organized under local boards of education, they provided communities with opportunity for practising democratic procedures. The local boards appointed managers and other officials to devise programs on the advice of the lay advisory committees to meet local needs.

Often programs recommended were more or less perfunctory and ceremonial. The townspeople did not rush forward to take advantage of the facilities. Realization of this situation stimulated planning on the part of the Ministry and of the prefectural boards of education. Leadership workshops were held for personnel in the secretariats of boards of education and for managers of some of the citizens public halls. The Ministry set up a list of standards by which to judge citizens public halls and annually picked halls for special commendation. By 1950 a wide variety of programs was under way, including social education institutes, domestic science study groups, agriculture fairs, vocational classes related to local industry, instruction in chicken or livestock raising, workshops for repairing agricultural equipment; courses in English, health education, flower arrangement, tea ceremony, dressmaking, use of the abacus; and recreational programs, including the newly imported coeducational pastime of square dancing. In addition, many citizens public halls established small libraries.

Libraries.—The National Diet Library was organized in 1948 as the depository for publications in Japan and the headquarters for local libraries in the country. On petition of the chairmen of both houses of the National Diet, a representative of the U. S. Library of Congress and a representative of the American Library Association were invited to Japan to advise on setting up the library. They helped the Japanese in drafting their National Diet Library Bill passed by the Diet and promulgated February 9, 1948, to provide services to: (1) The Diet, (2) executive and judicial branches of Government, and (3) the public. The Chief Librarian was appointed, and the library officially opened June 5, 1948, in the former Akasaka Detached Palace.

In 1950, a Library Law[10] was passed for the purpose of promoting development of libraries in accordance with the Social Education

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[10] For complete text, see: SCAP, CIE, *Post-War Developments in Japanese Education*, vol. II, p. 221–30.

Law. Among its provisions were these: (1) Prohibiting the charging of admission fees or other fees for the use of the library materials; (2) authorizing use by the general public as a means of contributing to their culture and recreation; (3) making librarians responsible for providing counsel to visitors; (4) stipulating library cooperation with schools, museums, citizens public halls, and the like through such services as inter-library loans; and (5) making libraries responsible for sponsoring and encouraging a positive social education program, including reading circles, seminars, film showings, and exhibitions. The chief librarian was to be appointed locally and an advisory library council could be set up to advise him concerning library service. The library was to be a service institution for the whole public.

The Library Law was supported by the Japan Library Association, which by 1950 reported a membership of almost 2,000 working to improve the quality of library service in the country. The 1935 figure of 5,080 libraries was reduced to one-seventh that number when many institutions were dissolved in implementing the Library Law. Only about 12 percent of the cities, towns, and villages had libraries so this was recognized as a fertile field for development.[11] The law stimulated establishment of libraries by local assemblies and citizens public halls.

The major problem was the lack of trained librarians in spite of the Library Law requirement that inservice librarians take short courses of not less than 15 units at selected universities. A library science course was started in 1951 with the establishment of a professional Library School at Keio University, staffed partly by library specialists from the U. S. selected by the American Library Association and financed by U. S. appropriated funds. Later the Rockefeller Foundation provided additional help. Keio University became the first Japanese university to offer a bachelor of arts in library science. It has from 20 to 30 graduates per year. Other universities also instituted library science courses.

Parent-teacher associations.—A private voluntary organization concerned with school and adult education was the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA). It differed from the prewar Supporters Association in being: (1) Voluntary, independent, and democratic; (2) primarily concerned with the school program and the welfare of children rather than with raising money; (3) inclusive of teachers as well as parents; and (4) a forum for the two groups to discuss mutual problems and sponsor social education programs.

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[11] *Report of the Second United States Education Mission to Japan* (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 12.

There was little need to encourage Japanese parents to take an interest in their children's schools, for education is one of the primary values of Japanese society. With major changes imminent in 1947, parents were interested in understanding and sharing them. When new schools at the lower secondary level were formed, PTA's were started. Soon the abbreviation—PTA—became a household word. Local schools advertised their PTA by permanent signs at school entrances.

SCAP advisers from Tokyo and Military Government officers throughout the country provided help in setting up associations. They encouraged grassroots development and discouraged formation of a national federation until local units were able to operate alone. In the spring of 1948, a nationwide Ministry survey showed that 80 percent of the elementary, LSS, and USS had PTA's.[12]

Since the country was suffering economically from war and inflation, school finances continued to be a problem, and the function of supplementing Government aid fell to the PTA. Instead of forced assessments, however, the local membership decided the method to be used.

Devising an interesting program presented a problem. The Ministry produced a series of pamphlets on organization and on programing and conduct of meetings and made them available to PTA's throughout the country. The Ministry's PTA Committee produced a Model Constitution and By-Laws for Local Parent-Teacher Associations. It posited a democratic organization devoted to the welfare of children and the promotion of adult education for parents as a means of raising home and community life standards. Membership was to be voluntary with members having equal rights and responsibilities. Teachers, as well as parents, were to pay dues. Officers were to be elected by secret ballot and majority vote for a term of 2 years. There were to be no honorary officers and no forced collections of dues. Each PTA was to be autonomous and independent.

There was temptation to demand that members make contributions for school purposes—to purchase window glass for classrooms to keep out the cold and to buy other essential equipment. Military Government education officers sought to suggest alternate fund-raising activities such as bazaars and plays. But money raising was necessary; in 1950 PTA's were reported to be contributing 12 percent of the operating expenses of the elementary and 10 percent of the LSS.

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[12] Nelson, op. cit., p. 256.

The National Congress of Parents and Teachers (non-governmental) in the U. S. released its publications for translation and issuance in Japanese. Pamphlets adapted from them to meet Japanese needs often were printed free or at cost by public-spirited printers and distributed through prefectural and municipal offices. A PTA hour broadcast every week on the radio was devoted to a discussion of PTA problems. Filmstrips and movies were prepared by Occupation authorities and distributed through prefectural film libraries. Private publishers began to prepare materials to meet the growing demand.

At the end of the Occupation, membership in PTA's in Japan was reported at some 15 million in 35,562 local groups.[13] The writer frequently visited PTA meetings and usually found large attendance and participation by fathers as well as mothers. Parents asked questions of the principal and criticized the school if they thought it needed it. They visited classes and established friendly relations with the teachers.

General adult education programs.—To provide educational opportunities for parents of school children, the Ministry (in July 1946) requested prefectural governors to reestablish prewar mothers' classes and this time open them to both mothers and fathers. They soon became parents' classes subsidized by the Ministry and operated as extension courses of the elementary and secondary schools.[14]

Colleges were requested to offer general cultural courses for the public, to be subsidized by the Ministry at the rate of 500 to 3,000 yen per institution. A 30-hour course to explain the new Constitution was started in 55 universities. In addition, prefectural governors were urged to encourage each city, town, and village to have a lecture course on the Constitution in the local citizens public hall or elementary school. The Japanese plan for extension education consisted of separate short-term culture courses initiated by the Ministry.

The Social Education Law of 1949 continued the practice of Ministry-subsidized social education classes as the extension program of elementary and secondary schools. One of the objects was to increase citizen interest in and concern for the schools. New "community" classes met at least 30 times a year and considered social and political changes being effected. The Ministry stressed the importance of adapting course content to local needs. In 1949, more than 1 million people attended this program. In 1950, 10-day national science courses sponsored jointly by the prefectural boards of education and the Ministry brought elementary science and health information to the general public.

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[13] Ministry of Education, *Education in Japan, Graphic Presentation: 1957* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1957), p. 97.

[14] Nelson, op. cit., p. 311.

The Ministry gave nominal subsidies each year to the prefectural governments to establish cultural courses for laborers. There usually were about 125 of these courses in the country developed by prefectural authorities in cooperation with labor and management and consisting of some 30 hours of instruction and discussion.

Military Government aided in a social education project to instruct the average citizen in his rights and responsibilities under the new Constitution and the new laws by publishing a course of 20 lessons based on the 10th grade textbook: *Primer of Democracy*. Thousands of men and women in 29 Prefectures of Southern Japan took the course in their local citizens public halls, schools, and temples. They discussed problems of democracy.[15] Ministry officials, in their role of public servants, began to get better acquainted with local problems by participating as advisers in local conferences.

The Social Education Law aimed to mobilize social education resources into an integrated program by: (1) Placing responsibility on local boards of education for libraries and citizens public halls and for adapting adult education to local needs; (2) providing for lay social educational advisory committees to advise the boards; and (3) encouraging the use of school facilities for the purposes. The Ministry's new role was to set standards which local groups were to meet in order to receive subsidies.

Local groups held forum, panel, and roundtable discussions using parliamentary procedure and audiovisual aids. Some 1,300 surplus projectors and films were distributed to Prefectures by SCAP for use in these adult education programs. All Prefectures now have audiovisual sections and most have film libraries for loan of films and projectors in their Prefectures. The citizens public halls often have book collections.

Major problems of the social education program at the end of the Occupation were: (1) Lack of enough trained leaders, (2) lack of adequate tax sources for activities suggested, and (3) lack of a continuing long-term program. National subsidies for these purposes were small. In the 1950–51 budget, the item for public libraries was left out completely.

Demand from an education-hungry populace was great. Hundreds of public and private agencies were trying to meet the demand with a variety of programs designed to educate citizens in their rights and responsibilities in society, to help adults and out-of-school youth increase their vocational efficiency, and to offer guidance in use of leisure time.

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[15] Ronald S. Anderson. An Adult Education Project in Japan. *School and Society*. 71: 338–42, June 3, 1950.

With the long-standing popularity of youth organizations in Japan, there was a demand for revival of western-type organizations absorbed into the Greater Japan Youth Association during the war—Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, YMCA, and YWCA. With assistance, staffs were given the opportunity to receive training, handbooks and instructional materials were prepared, and contacts were reestablished with organizations abroad, including international organizations, which cooperated in helping the Japanese.

The Junior Red Cross, originally organized in Japan in 1922, was reorganized in 1948. With the assistance of a staff from the U. S. and an Assistant National Director trained in the U. S. on an American Red Cross scholarship, the Japanese Red Cross enrolled entire classes of elementary schools and LSS using regular teachers as corps leaders. It held special work camps and summer conferences to train leaders and organizers in citizenship training, health and safety promotion, and the fostering of international friendship. Among the continuing programs are the exchange of colorful hand-made albums, student art exhibits, and international gift boxes with Junior Red Cross groups in other countries. In this way school children of Japan share their life and interests with school children around the world.

A national program of rural youth clubs not unlike the 4-H Clubs in the U. S. was started by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Members study agricultural methods and seek to improve family life on the farms. Guidance is provided on a part-time basis by teachers of agriculture in USS.

The Present Period

Table 14 reflects the social education facilities in Japan as published by the Ministry of Education in 1957 and covering the year 1955.

Citizens public halls.—In 1957 about 80 percent of the cities, towns, and villages in Japan had citizens public halls. There were roughly 8,000 major halls with thousands of smaller branches.[16]

One citizens public hall in the Prefecture of Aomori, for example, held open meetings twice a week where the mayor and his

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[16] *Mainichi Shimbun*, Nov. 3, 1957. The figure of 35,343, given in table 14, includes the smaller branches, some with a part-time manager.

Table 14.—Social education facilities: 1955

Facilities	Number of facilities		Number of employed personnel	
Citizens public halls		35, 343		39, 642
Libraries		742		4, 362
Prefectural	105		1, 414	
Municipal	603		2, 765	
Private	34		183	
Museums		239		2, 653
National	35		719	
Prefectural	20		1, 017	
Municipal	71			
Private	113		917	
Film libraries		408		1, 542
Prefectural	48		261	
Municipal	305		840	
Private	55		243	
Physical education and recreation		1, 058		
Prefectural	111			
Municipal	947			

Source: Ministry of Education, *Education in 1955:* Annual Report of the Ministry of Education (Tokyo the Ministry, 1957), Part II, p. 38.

constituency discussed village problems. Another in Ehime Prefecture stimulated the local citizens to establish an experimental farm and community shop.[17] Major problems, as usual, were finance and leadership. The tendency was to look to the central Government for both.

From the beginning, an activity which was particularly popular in agricultural sections of the northeastern or Tohoku region but common to rural areas was the youth class for out-of-school working youth who wished to continue their education. A Law for the Promotion of Youth Classes, aiming to "promote working youth's knowledge and skill in vocations and home management and to enhance the level of their culture," was passed in 1953. It required municipalities to establish youth classes and granted a national subsidy for them. By 1955, a total of 17,606 youth classes were reported to be serving over a million students in 84 percent of the municipalities.[18] Classes, held either in the public hall or in the local school, are taught by elementary or LSS teachers for a period up to 2 years. The largest number of such classes, almost one-half, are in cooking and infant care. Vocational training—for farm youth in operating farm machines and for town youth in study and observation of jobs in stores and factories come next. The remainder are practical courses in civics, economics, and general culture. About 70 percent of the students are under 20 years of ago, with an almost equal number of boys and girls participating.[19]

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[17] *Yomiuri Shimbun*, April 29, 1950, as quoted in: Nelson, op. cit., p. 349.

[18] Ministry of Education, *Education in 1955: Annual Report of the Ministry of Education*, p. 101.

[19] Ministry of Education, *Education in Japan, Graphic Presentation: 1957*, p. 103–104.

Citizens public halls have offered social education courses for adults as well as for youth, in such areas as agricultural improvement and health. In 1954–55, these courses reportedly totaled 36,261 of which 12,511 were formally scheduled courses with some 307,000 regular attendants. Local boards of education held 25,221 general adult courses of which 4,628 were long-term, such as the people's science courses or laborers' culture courses required by the central Government. The latter enrolled a total of 293,000 students.[20]

Each year representatives of the halls hold an all-Japan conference. For several years the annual conference has called for the enactment of a separate citizens public hall law which would require cities, towns, and villages to establish halls, fix the number of employees, and set up standards for employment. When local finances are strained by difficult times, local officials may look on the halls as a marginal enterprise and a place to retrench. Despite difficulties, the citizens public halls have been described as "centres for stimulating new ways of thinking in rural areas." [21]

A recent activity of the citizens public halls was an experiment in rural social education carried on in 64 villages of less than a thousand inhabitants. Through the cooperation of the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, the Ministry of Education, and the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, a televised course of 13 lessons entitled "For the Progress of the Farming Village" was shown to tele-clubs of from 30 to 50 farmers usually meeting in their local citizens public hall.[22] The course aimed at persuading the farmers to modernize their methods in order to increase productivity and make life easier and healthier for their families. It considered such economic and social problems as "Where will the younger sons, who do not inherit the land, go?" or "Why don't girls want to marry farmers?" Members of the family, including farm housewives, attended the courses, sitting on the floor of the halls in front of the television set. Then they were led in discussion by the local hall manager or a teacher.

There are evidences of the impact of the project in various communities. Most of the participating villages hope to continue their tele-clubs. Farmers belonging to other halls heard of the experiment and formed their own tele-clubs and purchased television sets for their halls. TV manufacturers joined with the Government

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[20] Ministry of Education, *Education in Japan in 1955: Annual Report of the Ministry of Education*, p. 102–103.

[21] Tokio Oga, TV Comes to Rural Japan: Japan Launches Unesco-Sponsored Experiment in Collective Viewing, Unesco Features No. 237: 6, May 20, 1957.

[22] There were about a million sets reported to be in existence in 1958. Nearly every town is within range of a TV station. Most farmer-viewers had not seen television before.

歌い花さく
雪の連山
歌い花さく
の七草

Courtesy of Ministry of Education

Tele-club gathered around hibachi: Citizens Public Hall—Okagami Village, Kanagawa Prefecture.

to provide tax-free sets at 25 percent below market price. Television viewing, which had been considered by farmers as a "pastime of lazy town folk," and not fit for the honest farmer "who has no place sitting up late," now is spreading in rural areas. It forms a basis for community discussion.

Expansion of library services.—The commercial bookstore acts as an informal library, with students standing by the hour reading books. Supplementing bookstores in 1956 were 725 public libraries throughout the country, 106 prefectural, 357 city, 211 town and village, and 51 private libraries reporting a total of 16,696,822 books.[23] Additional library resources exist in the schools. The public libraries are crowded. During examination time, students are lined up from morning until night awaiting their turn at books they cannot take home. Free circulation has not been widely accepted because of fear of vandalism and theft, which reportedly amounts to some 80,000 books per month.[24] Public libraries have 1,670 trained librarians; reportedly they need an additional 4,000 professional workers.[25]

Some of the recent developments of public libraries include: (1) Bookmobiles to carry library services to the people,[26] (2) reference service to handle telephone and mail inquiries, (3) children's rooms in 20 percent of the libraries, and (4) collection and use of audiovisual materials, film showings, and record concerts.

The 23 CIE Information Centers in 22 cities serving the surrounding areas had a basic collection of from 5,000 to 10,000 books and from 300 to 600 periodicals. Books and magazines could be borrowed for home reading. Centers sent rotating book and magazine collections to public school libraries in neighboring communities. When their original librarians returned to the U. S., some libraries were turned over to the Prefectures, and the program now serves several million people annually. Fourteen centers are operated as American Culture Centers. Tokujiro Kanamori, head of the Diet Library, reported to the author that the Japanese are now building libraries and emphasizing the fact that libraries must serve the people.[27]

Acting as a service agency to the social education program are the 408 prefectural and municipal film libraries throughout the

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[23] Japan Library Association, *editor, Libraries in Japan* (Tokyo, the Association, 1957), p. 14.

[24] *Japan Times,* May 28, 1956.

[25] Japan Library Association, *editor,* op. cit., p. 15.

[26] Ibid., p. 16. There are 70 bookmobiles in Japan; they are regarded as being too expensive.

[27] Interview with the author, May 7, 1957.

Nation, which have developed as a result of greatly increased postwar use of audiovisual equipment in schools and communities. They lend audiovisual materials to schools and halls for educational or recreational programs. About 25 percent of the halls and many of the schools now have Japanese-made motion picture and slide projectors.[28]

The Ministry produces educational films, slides, and records, and purchases films from private companies for distribution to film libraries for the use of local groups.

The National Diet Library consists at present of the Central Library, in temporary quarters in the palace and 28 branch libraries in executive and judicial branches throughout the capital, together with 4 collections containing ancient and rare books. As of 1956, it reported nearly 4½ million books available for use by the public in the library, or inter-library loan, or through copying services. The Chief Librarian is authorized to assist prefectural and other assemblies, Government officials, and librarians in the organization of libraries. The Diet Library also makes available printed catalog cards and publications of the library to other libraries and individuals. One service is the publication of a quarterly *Periodicals Index* of magazine articles—the first venture of its kind in Japan. Construction began in 1956 on a new and specialized library building to house the National Diet Library.

Parent-teachers association trends.—The current trend in PTA's as observed by a critic from Japan is for the stated purposes of the organization to get buried in other activities and interests. In many places, the organization was reported to have become almost exclusively a parents' association. On September 5, 1953, the *Mainichi* in Osaka warned that the PTA "must establish the principle that teachers are on an even footing with parents in promoting education for children."[29]

The function of the PTA today is similar to that of the Supporters Association in prewar days—largely raising money. The average monthly dues are a hundred yen (28 cents) paid by parents of practically all the children. One survey of 46 elementary schools in Setagaya Ward of Tokyo reported that of the total sum collected, the working expenses took 20 percent while the remaining 80 percent was devoted to school operating expenses, purchase of equipment and teaching materials, and grants to teachers for study,

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[28] See: Ministry of Education, *Education in Japan, Graphic Presentation: 1957*, p. 92 indicates that 13.3 percent of the elementary and LSS had motion picture projectors, and 66.1 percent had slide or filmstrip projectors.

[29] As translated in *Nippon Times*, Sept. 5, 1953.

Courtesy of Ministry of Education

PTA helping children select library books: Akabane Elementary School—Minato-ku Tokyo.

books, and travel to conferences.[30] In several schools visited by the author, the PTA had financed the building of the school auditorium. Other PTA's built swimming pools, libraries, or classrooms. Members also have contributed to the school-lunch program through purchase and cooking of foodstuffs.

Parents state that the pressure to pay rising dues amounts almost to paying tuition—a violation of the Constitution and of the Fundamental Law of Education. Increased assumption of financial responsibility gives the PTA a larger voice in the administrative and policy-making affairs of schools. This is a distortion, says the Mainichi, of the real purposes of the PTA which are to promote the welfare of children and serve as a bridge between parents and teachers.[31]

The PTA is an influential group at the local, prefectural, and national levels. At the local level, other groups influencing the schools—the school board and the teachers union—often seek the support of the PTA.

Today more than 90 percent of Japan's elementary schools, LSS, and USS have PTA's and send delegates to municipal and prefectural federations, and the latter send delegates to the National

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[30] *Tokyo Shimbun*, May 14, 1957.
[31] *Mainichi Shimbun* [Tokyo], July 17, 1956.

PTA Federation founded in October 1952. The theme of the 5th annual convention of the national federation in November 1957 illustrates a concern of the PTA in morals education in the school and moral guidance of youth outside of school.

Voluntary organizations.—Many youth organizations such as the Japan Youth Association, reportedly with over 4 million members, and the Junior Red Cross with 600,000 members as of May 1957, provide programs for youth. Women's organizations, reporting more than 8 million members, or 31 percent of eligible women voters, are organized into national federations such as the Association of Housewives and the Japan Women's Organizations. They have served in securing rights for women and promoting the welfare of children.

Japan has social education organizations appealing to many interest groups, counting membership in the millions. The tendency today seems favorable toward the whole membership meeting 2 or 3 times a year—with the business of the organization being handled by officers who meet once a month or oftener. With the resources of prefectural audiovisual libraries and with many publications from the Ministry and from private organizations, the programs are varied and many are informal. Friendly relations are maintained with many similar organizations in other countries as a result of exchange visits. Hundreds of leadership conferences held during the past several years, reportedly have broadened the base of leadership for these organizations; though they are federated up the line, and with national headquarters in Tokyo.

Optimism reported.—A recent analysis of a series of community studies made by Japanese social scientists looks upon local adult education organizations with measured optimism:

> Many communities spontaneously organized groups patterned on the best of American and British study and service associations (ranging from PTA to political-action groups, trade unions, and social service organizations). These are not as yet important enough to guarantee a change in popular attitudes toward government and social organization, but they were an encouraging indication of the prospects for future democratic growth. They may, in short, represent "permanent" devices for introducing social change.[32]

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[32] John D. Montgomery, *Forced to be Free: the Artificial Revolution in Germany and Japan* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 189.

CHAPTER X

In Brief Review

THE RISE of modern education in Japan is a story descriptive of the people of Japan. Her educational history is largely a product of her historical heritage and experience. On a traditional Confucian base, she built for her people an educational structure where side by side are found both survivals of her past and modern educational institutions and practices of the present.

Education was made a key to the swift and successful modernization of Japan following the feudal era ending in 1868. It produced the technical skills utilized for building the new government, industry, army and navy. Japan reached out to various parts of the western world for technical assistance in modernizing her laws, her communication and transportation systems, her military services, and her industries. She turned to the U. S. following the Meiji Restoration, for aid in developing a modern school system. The Meiji leaders were evidently convinced of utility in U. S. schoolrooms, equipment, textbooks, teaching methods, and of values in the spirit behind the U. S. "common schools"—education for the needs of the individual and equal opportunity for all according to ability.

Japan invited some Americans in to help build the new system. The Government sent some of its own able young scholars to the U. S. teacher-training institutions to study educational philosophy and practices and to carry new ideas back to Japan. These became a basis for teacher training at the Tokyo Normal School.

From other countries, too, Japan absorbed what she considered best suited to her educational needs. She blended Pestalozzian child-centered education and other later philosophy with her own traditional past.

In time, the modern ideas, particularly those of intellectuals and students, aroused concern among Government leaders; and by 1886, education stressing the needs of the individual was being replaced by a system of education primarily designed to serve the State. Increased emphasis was placed on moral training, and many educational theorists turned from Pestalozzian ideas to those of the Herbartian school of German pedagogy. By this philosophy which they considered more in harmony with their Confucian background, the Japanese hoped to avoid what they held to be dangers of utilitarianism: neglect of moral training; and lack of the acquisition of a body of knowledge.

At no time in these earlier years did the leaders seem to lose sight of their purpose of modernization: that purpose expressed in the national slogan of the early Restoration, *Fukoku Kyohei*, "A Rich Country and a Strong Army."

Meiji leaders reinstated the long-existing body of Shinto and Confucian ethics, and required it to be taught in the schools. They canonized the traditional ethics in the *Imperial Rescript on Education* which became the basis for national morals and patriotism for the succeeding half century through the period of World War II.

Out of all this, however, the modern institution of an educational system had been incorporated into Japanese culture, and Japanese education was more thoroughly Japanese. The Ministry of Education was developed into a highly centralized organ. Through control of teacher training, the curriculum, and the textbooks and through insuring universal study of the core course of morals, based on the *Imperial Rescript on Education*, the Government molded thought to suit national needs, and a high degree of national unity was achieved.

The tempo of nationalism was raised progressively during the half century that preceded World War II. The exception to this movement, however, was a brief period following World War I, when the idealism engendered by the Allies' democratic war aims had an impact on the country's young intellectuals. It was at this time in the field of education that John Dewey and several of his interpreters were invited to Japan and that a democratic educational philosophy again developed among Japan's schoolmen. Then with the increasing militarism during the 1930's, the educational system was more and more utilized toward nationalism. As seen by the educational chronology in appendix C (p. 217) of this bulletin, between 1886 and 1945, Japan steadily proceeded toward modernization. She competed effectively with other nations in many fields of endeavor. This was accomplished despite the fact that educational opportunity was unequal, the few going up the academic ladder to the university and on to positions of leadership while the many got literacy and some practical training in order best to serve the State.

Over the years, Japan has revamped her educational system a number of times. With the coming of the U. S. Education Mission in 1946, she turned her schools toward democratization. The Mission pointed out that its proposals supported "trends already strong within Japanese educational circles." The Mission's counterpart group, the Japanese Education Committee, and the U. S. Mission worked together on the basis of equality.

The Japanese Education Committee weighed the recommendations of the Mission and passed most of them on to the Ministry to be cast into a series of bills for the Diet. The basic law thus produced to take the place of the *Imperial Rescript on Education* was the Fundamental Law of Education.

The major aims of this reform program in education were: (1) Elimination of militarism and ultranationalism, (2) democratization, (3) modernization, and (4) decentralization of educational control. Among specific reforms designed to carry out these aims

KBS Photo.—Courtesy of Embassy of Japa

Youth—Japan's future.

were included the provision of greater equality of educational opportunity through the conversion of the multiple-track into a single-track system, an additional 3 years of compulsory education, and coeducation at all levels. To train for intelligent participation in a democracy, a new content was introduced—notably social studies at the elementary and secondary levels.

The 6–3–3 system, the extension of compulsory education from 6 to 9 years, coeducation, and the introduction of democratic organization and atmosphere to school administration and to classrooms—all are reforms that have remained. On the other hand, decentralization and the changes in the content of education requiring general education at secondary and higher levels and social studies at the elementary and secondary levels have been modified though the concepts still are being debated.

During the present period, democratic education has been modified; it has not been replaced. The essential goals of the new education system remain: The goal of suiting education to life, the goal of equal educational opportunity through helping each individual (regardless of sex) to develop his ability, and the goal of freedom of speech and action. The schools of Japan are working to prepare free individuals for citizenship in a State which is committed to democracy, a State rich in tradition and modern in outlook.

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APPENDIX A

Imperial Rescript on Education

Know ye, Our subjects:
Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interest; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month
of the 23rd year of Meiji.
(Imperial Sign Manual. Imperial Seal.)

APPENDIX B

Number of schools, teachers, and pupils: May 1957

Type of school	Number of schools				Number of teachers		Pupils	
	Public	Private	Branch	Total	Regular	Part-time	Total number	Per teacher
Kindergarten	2,212	4,271	137	6,620	28,344	4,188	663,000	23.4
Elementary	22,325	155	4,508	26,988	351,533	1,875	12,956,000	36.9
Lower secondary	12,058	626	938	13,622	195,613	9,818	5,718,000	29.3
Upper secondary	2,454	922	1,201	4,577	118,233	20,013	2,898,000	24.5
University and junior college	165	335	--------	500	46,631	21,753	642,000	13.7
Junior college [1]	*58*	*211*	--------	*269*	*6,187*	*6,852*	*73,000*	*11.8*
Special	172	8	16	196	5,301	322	32,000	6.0
Miscellaneous [2]	*371*	*7,145*	*216*	*7,516*	*30,375*	*21,217*	*1,021,000*	*33.6*
Total	39,386	6,317	6,800	52,503	745,655	57,969	22,909,000	--------

[1] The number of junior colleges is included in the totals for the colleges.

[2] Miscellaneous schools are reported as of May 1956 rather than May 1957. They are not included in the totals.

Source: Compiled from data in: Ministry of Education, *A Survey of Japanese Education with Statistics: 1957* ([Tokyo], the Ministry, October 1957), Series No. 1, 16 p.

APPENDIX C

Education Chronology of Modern Japan

1868: Beginning of Meiji Restoration. Emperor Meiji's Charter Oath of Five Articles.

1872: *Gakusei* (Educational System) establishes first modern school system.

1879: Code of Education—democratic revision by Tanaka and Murray providing for Educational Affairs Boards.

1880: Code of Education—nullifies power of boards; requires *Shushin* (Morals), and makes 3 years of schooling compulsory.

1886: Minister of Education Mori's new codes result in State-centered education, Tokyo University being modeled after German universities and 4 years of education being compulsory.

1890: October 30—*Imperial Rescript on Education.*

1908: Compulsory education raised to 6 years.

1918: University Ordinance recognizes private and local universities.

1935: Youth School Ordinance provides for part-time schools for working youth.

1939: Youth school attendance is made compulsory for boys aged 12 to 19.

1941: The National School Ordinance makes elementary schools national schools.

1945: July 26—Potsdam Declaration defines terms for surrender.

August 15—Unconditional surrender of Japan. General Douglas MacArthur assumes command as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP).

September 2—Formal surrender of Japanese Empire to the Allied Powers.

October 2—SCAP establishes General Headquarters at Tokyo. General Order No. 4 defines functions of Civil Information and Education Section, GHQ, SCAP.

October 22—Occupation Directive: Administration of the Educational System of Japan.

October 30—Occupation Directive: Investigation, Screening, and Certification of Teachers and Educational Officials.

December 15—Occupation Directive: Abolition of State Shinto.

December 31—Occupation Directive: Suspension of Courses in Morals, Japanese History, and Geography.

1946: March 30—Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan submitted to the Supreme Commander.

April 7—Mission's Report published by Ministry of Education.

May 29—Ministry of Education distributes Guide for New Education.

August 10—Japanese Education Reform Council established.

September 11—National Language Council established.

October 8—Ministry of Education requires cessation of reading of the *Imperial Rescript on Education.*

1946: October 9—Ministry of Education sends out notification recommending coeducation.

October 28—State history textbook: *Kuni no Ayumi* [Progress of the Country] was issued.

November 16—Japanese Government sends out notification limiting the number of Chinese characters.

December 11—Announcement that the school-lunch system is to go into operation January 1, 1947.

1947: March 5—PTA's started.

March 31—Fundamental Law of Education and School Education Law are promulgated.

April 2—6-3-3 school system goes into effect; lower secondary schools are inaugurated.

April 9—New courses of study are published.

May 3—New Japanese Constitution promulgated November 3, 1946, becomes effective.

June 8—Japan Teachers Union (JTU) is formed at Nara City.

September 2—Social Studies are taught for the first time.

September 11—Ministry of Education introduces textbook authorization system.

1948: February 16—881 basic Chinese characters are decided upon for elementary school.

June 25—Elimination of the *Imperial Rescript on Education* from school education.

July 15—Board of Education Law is passed.

September 18—All-Japan Federation of Student Self-Government Associaciations (*Zengakuren*) is formed.

1949: May 31—Ministry of Education Establishment Law and National School Establishment Law are promulgated.

June 10—Social Education Law is promulgated.

December 15—Private School Law is promulgated.

1950: April 30—Library Law is promulgated.

May 1—JTU joins the General Council of Japanese Laborer Unions.

September 22—Report of the Second United States Education Mission to Japan is submitted to the Supreme Commander.

November 7—Minister of Education suggests the revival of *shushin* (morals).

1951: January 4—Curriculum Council submits a report on morals education to Minister of Education.

January 8—Ministry of Education decides a course in morals shall not be taught.

September 8—Peace Treaty is signed by 49 countries in San Francisco.

December 24—Commercial broadcasting starts.

1952: April 28—Peace Treaty takes effect.

June 6—Central Educational Council replaces Japanese Education Reform Council.

1953: August 7—Curriculum Council tenders report on the revision of the social studies course.

1954: March 26—Two educational bills prohibiting teachers' political activities pass the House of Representatives.

1955: September 20—Revised Courses of Study are published by Ministry of Education.

1956: March 6—Revision of the 1948 Board of Education Law and passage of a Textbook Law are proposed in the Diet.

June 2—New board law entitled Law Concerning Organizations and Function of Local Educational Administration is passed; Textbook law is not passed.

September 28—The first large-scale achievement test in 2 subjects (Mathematics and Japanese) is administered to 220 thousand elementary and secondary school pupils by the Ministry of Education.

October 1—Revision of the Board of Education Law goes into effect, making boards appointive.

October 16—Ministry of Education appoints 20 textbook inspectors as a part of the new textbook authorization system.

November 29—Under the Ministerial Ordinance, Education Minister (Ichiro Kiyose) appoints the 80 members of the Textbook Authorization and Investigation Council.

1958: April—Introduction at the beginning of the school year of a required course in morals to be given 1 hour a week at the compulsory levels of schooling; publication by the Ministry of a guidebook for the morals course.

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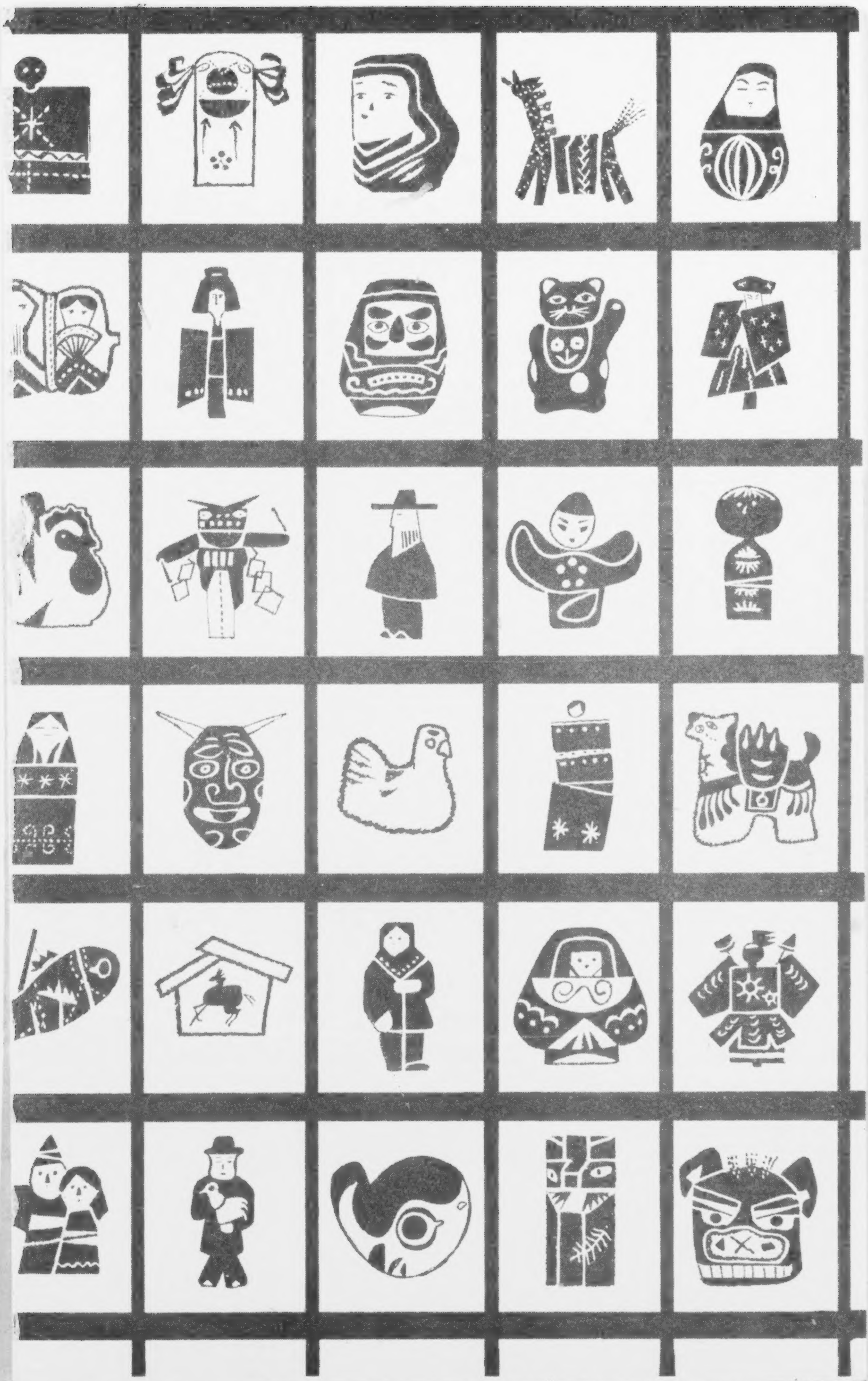

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